DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 291 542 RC 016 539

AUTHOR Dhillon, Jogindar S., Ed.; Howie, Marguerite R., Ed.

TITLE Dimensions of Poverty in the Rural South.

INSTITUTION Florida A and M Univ., Tallahassee. Center for Community Development and Research.

PUB DATE 86

NOTE 259p.

PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Collected Works - General (020)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Blacks; Delivery Systems; Demography; Employment Opportunities; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Government Role; Health Programs; Human Services; Land Grant Universities; Policy Formation; *Poverty; Questionnaires; Racial Attitudes; *Racial Discrimination; *Regional Characteristics; Research Design; Rural Areas; *Rural Population; Sociocultural Patterns; Unemployment; Whites

IDENTIFIERS *United States (South)

ABSTRACT

The major papers collected in this work were written by researchers who participated in a regional research project entitled "Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South." Chapter 1 examines the low income rural family as an open system. Chapter 2 discusses research objectives and sample design. Chapter 3 focuses on socio-demographic variables of race, sex, age, education, occupation, farm status, number of children, and marital disruption as predictors of a rural family's level of poverty. Chapter 4 looks at uneven distribution of employment opportunities between blacks and whites. Chapter 5 discusses causes of poverty that reside in the society rather than in the individual. Chapters 6 and 7 deal with availability, use, and quality of agency services. Chapter 8 identifies factors related to participation in food stamp and health programs. Chapter 9 outlines the history of social services in the United States and notes present growing numbers of persons in need of public assistance. Chapters 10 and 11 present recommendations to help the poor, including increased role of state agencies and local community action groups. Chapter 12 contains an annotated bibliography of 40 entries. Appendices include the survey questionnaires and a list of 15 contributors. (JHZ)

****

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *

* from the original document. *

****

ED291542

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jogindar S. Dhillon

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RC016539

JOGINDAR S. DHILLON &
MARGUERITE R. HOWIE, (Eds.)

2

DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

JOGINDAR S. DHILLON &
MARGUERITE R. HOWIE,
EDITORS

Center for Community Development & Research
College of Engineering Sciences, Technology
& Agriculture
FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL AND
MECHANICAL UNIVERSITY

Copyright 1986 by
College of Engineering Sciences,
Technology & Agriculture
Florida Agricultural &
Mechanical University

Library of Congress Catalog
Card Number
85-72407

Manufactured in the United States of America
Composed and printed by Rose Printing Company,
Tallahassee, Florida

Designed by Joe Roache

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 A Systems Approach to the Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low Income Areas of the Rural South 1

Chapter 2 Sample Design 7

Chapter 3 The Isolation of Poverty Differentials in the Rural South 19

Chapter 4 Race Differentials in Perceived Employment Barriers in the Rural South 49

Chapter 5 Societal Influences on Poverty 61

Chapter 6 Availability, Accessibility and Utilization of Agency Services 95

Chapter 7 Clients' Perceptions of Satisfaction with and Discrimination by Selected Government Agencies 115

Chapter 8 Food Stamp and Health Program Participation Among Eligibles 139

Chapter 9 The Development of Public Assistance in the United States 151

Chapter 10 Rural Poverty in the South: Recommendations Pertaining to Socio-Demographic Factors 161

Chapter 11 Recommendations Pertaining to Policies Affecting Availability, Accessibility, and Utilization of Agencies 173

Chapter 12 Selected Annotated Bibliography 183

Appendices Appendix A: List of Contributors 197

Appendix B-1: Survey Questionnaire 203

Appendix B-2: Agency Directors' Questionnaire 241

Appendix C: Op-Scan Coding Sheets 249

Appendix D: Participating Institutions and Principal Investigators 257

Preface

Historically no role incongruency existed between the public expectations of the predominantly Black Land Grant Institutions and their own role definitions in terms of being primarily teaching institutions with Agriculture, Home Economics and Technology as integral academic components. This role was discharged by them with great credibility, in spite of the endemic scarcity of essential resources. Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, introspective assessments of the traditional role concept began to be questioned both by the public and by these institutions themselves. Together it was felt that if these 1890 colleges and universities were to play a significant part as viable institutions of higher learning within the land grant system, they had to incorporate the dimensions of research and extension in their structural and functional arrangements. Through the coordinated and persistent efforts by the Council of Presidents of the 1890 institutions, PL 89-106 came into existence. Under this Law, small amounts of research and extension funds were made available to these schools by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 1967. This opened a way for them to participate in the land grant philosophy, viz. teaching, research, and extension. In 1977, PL 95-113 converted these monies into permanent funds on the formula basis.

As a result of the availability of these funds, each school designed systems to initiate research programs and introduced structural changes to manage these funds. Various performance indicators of research accomplishments in terms of number of research projects completed, quantity and quality of publications, participation in professional organizations, and program review reports show that the research systems at 1890 colleges and universities have become institutionalized and that they have been successful in establishing their professional credibility in research.

Whereas social science research at most of the 1890 institutions has existed all along in one form or another, systematic sponsored research in this area is of relatively recent origin. With the availability of PL 89-106 funds, several researchers at these schools began focusing their research efforts on various aspects of disadvantageness in the rural areas. Because of the commonality of this research interest, a need was felt to jointly address this issue. Dr. Edward Moe, the then Principal Rural Sociologist at Cooperative State Research Service (CSRS-USDA), along with Dr. McKinley Mayes, Coordinator of Special Programs, provided the necessary stimulus. At the encouragement of Dr. Moe, the senior editor of this volume after consulting with Dr. Melvin Walker, Jr. of Fort Valley State College organized a meeting of social scientists from Fort Valley State College, Southern University, and South Carolina State College at Florida A&M University in 1977. Both Drs. Moe and Mayes also participated in this meeting. It was decided to develop a regional project in the area of rural poverty and invite scientists from other 1890 schools to participate.

A regional research project (RR-1) entitled "Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South" was developed after several meetings of concerned scientists and was initiated in 1978-79. By then, eleven of the sixteen 1890 institutions had decided to participate in RR-1. Their names appear in Appendix D.

Development of research implementation strategies was undertaken collaboratively by the participating scientists in a mostly harmonious environment. Pre-tests of research questionnaires and sample selection techniques were done in non-sample counties in the participating states. Especially trained interviewers, who shared major socio-economic personal characteristics, collected data (see details of sample selection and training of interviewers in Chapter 2) in each of the ten states. Coding of questionnaires was done utilizing op-scan sheets specially developed for the purpose (Appendix C). All the data were centrally analyzed at North Carolina A&T State University. Additionally, each participating researcher was provided with a computer data-tape for the entire data-set.

Based on their interests, the researchers developed major papers for presentation at professional meetings and publication in scientific journals on various aspects of RR-1. A database book published in 1983 contained statistical tables with brief descriptions of the entire data-set (single copies may be obtained free of cost from the publisher of this book or from the participating scientists — Appendix D). Additionally, four brochures based on major findings from this study, primarily for use by the elected public officials, government agency personnel and community leaders, were published at Florida A&M University in 1984-85.

Design for the present volume was developed in 1983 and Chapter assignments were made to authors based on their subject matter interest. However, because of prior commitments not all of them were able to complete their Chapters by the deadlines set by the editors. The twelve Chapters presented in this book are the result of combined efforts of several people.

Special thanks are due Drs. Edward Moe and McKinley Mayes. Dr. Moe instigated the idea of a regional research project and provided untiring guidance and professional help in the conceptualization of this venture. Dr. Mayes facilitated the process and took personal interest throughout the life of the project. Drs. Jim Satterlee, David Brown and Richard Stuby from CSRS — USDA provided able technical assistance at various phases of the project. Dr. Stuby was particularly helpful in the development of the format of this book.

Dr. Howard Robinson, former Administrative Advisor to the Technical Committee, and Dr. Sydney Evans, the present Administrative Advisor, not only took active interest in the project activities, but more importantly facilitated the continued support of this project by the Association of Research Directors. Drs. Maurice Godley, Robert Hurst, B. D. Mayberry, and Ocleris Simpson were very supportive in obtaining the approval of the project by the Association of Research Directors. Dr. Melvin Walker and Dr. Yvonne Beauford, the Chairman and Secretary of the Technical Committee, rendered very useful service in keeping the group together at its darkest moments in the implementation of the project.

Dr. George Aker as Technical Editor went beyond the call of duty to get this manuscript in its present form. If it were not for his constant encouragement and meticulous technical assistance, it would have been much more of a frustrating experience.

The editors are grateful to Dr. Sunil Pancholy, Dean Charles Kidd, and President Frederick Humphries at Florida A&M University for providing administrative assistance and support during various stages in the development of this manuscript.

The Chapter authors are responsible for the material presented in and the conclusions drawn from in their respective Chapters.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. James Walker and Ms. Debby Flynn of Rose Printing Company for facilitating the production process of this book.

Jogindar S. Dhillon
Marguerite R. Howie

February 1986

Chapter 1

A Systems Approach to the Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low Income Areas of the Rural South

Avery Webber

ABSTRACT

In this study the family is viewed as an open system with interdependent relationships with its environment which in turn is viewed as a network of interdependent open social systems. As an open system the family is viewed as an economic unit with inputs from and outputs to other social systems in its environment. These inputs and outputs are considered to be dynamic and problematic for most low income families in the rural South.

Introduction

In America the existence and persistence of poverty is of major concern to politicians and social scientists alike. For more than two decades, considerable effort and resources have been devoted to programs and policies designed to improve the quality of families in poverty. In spite of the accomplishments achieved thus far, the problems of poverty are still unresolved.

In the past, research on poverty has more or less ignored the socio-dynamic familiar processes and the linkages between levels and patterns of living among families and other social systems in the larger society. Moreover, much of the research has stemmed from theoretical approaches which more or less ignore the dynamics and interrelatedness of social phenomena. Five inadequate theoretical approaches to poverty have been identified by Thomas (1972).

One such approach is based on the notion of genetic inferiority. According to Thomas (1972: 21), this approach "asserts that poverty is the consequence of the transmission of inferior genetically influenced traits (e.g. low intelligence and deformity) over generations." In this explanation the cause of poverty is to be found in the individuals who are poor. The social dynamics of the environment are ignored.

In another approach an attempt is made to explain poverty as a condition of culture. The thesis of this explanation is that "poverty is caused and sustained by a life style common to the vast majority of poor people" (Thomas, 1972:22). The components of this life style are "apathy, defeatism, hopelessness, reliance on chance and concern with short-term gratification" (Thomas, 1972:22). Again the individual or family is to be blamed.

A third approach is based on the thesis of opportunity. In this approach poverty is attributed to the consequences of a multitude of social policies and practices which exclude groups of people from opportunities to acquire a fair share of society's goods and services (Thomas, 1972). In this explanation society is blamed for the existence of poverty and the individual and the family are ignored.

A fourth approach is one based on the thesis of maldistribution. In this explanation the cause of poverty is viewed as the maldistribution of the means of production, investment, capital and skilled human resources. The cause of poverty is to be found in the structural arrangements of society. Again, the individual and family are ignored.

A fifth and final approach cited by Thomas is based on the argument of scarce resources. The theme of this argument is that "regardless of how rapidly our productivity expands two forces - population and rising expectations - keep pace or, more likely, increase more rapidly than productivity" (Thomas, 1972: 24). This means that poverty is "the end result of not enough to go around." In this theory no one is to blame.

The most recent explanation of poverty is one presented by Thomas Sowell. Sowell (1981) attributes the successes and failures of various ethnic groups to their values and patterns of behavior. To prove his point he argues that some ethnic groups have made remarkable progress in America while others have not. For example, according to Sowell, the Chinese, Jews and Japanese are doing well compared to Blacks. In making this comparison, Sowell notes that the Jews are industrious; the Japanese are thrifty and presistent, and the Chinese are diligent toward work. In contrast, he argues that the Irish as well as blacks lack initiative. He argues that blacks' work habits are less than satisfactory and that they are overly dependent on government aid. Sowell indicates that the welfare system has made blacks overly dependent and that they are unsuited for the American economic system. According to Sowell, the poor are victims of their own creations.

Other theoretical approaches which seem to contribute to the confusion in attempts to explain poverty are: the assimilation argument, the concept of ethnic pluralism and conflict theory.

Assimilations view race relations as reflecting quasi-tribal loyalties. This perspective predicts that ethnicity will eventually disappear and that through the process of assimilation ethnic groups will eventually take on the values, customs and the attitudes of the dominant group.

Proponents of the ethnic pluralism concept argue that ethnicity is here to stay. They see ethnic groups as being an inherent part of different societies, and they predict that various ethnic groups will remain as distinct and separate entities in society.

The conflict perspective focuses on competition, strife and exploitation between groups. Those using this perspective to better understand poverty and ethnic relations are more concerned with those patterns of interaction which are characterized by conflict rather than those which are characterized by cooperation, and harmony. Few social scientists, if any, would argue that race relations in America are wholesome and beneficial for all groups, but at the same time, few if any, would argue that conflict between groups characterizes the total relationship.

The above theoretical frameworks do not capture the socio-dynamics, the relationships and the processes that characterize poverty and attendant ethnic relations. The system's approach does. Moreover, it acknowledges: (1) the social structure of the family; (2) the changes that take place as the family interacts with other systems; (3) the adaptation and adjustment processes which occur as the family interacts with other systems; (4) the constellation of roles and statuses which exist in the family, and (5) the concept that family members play a number of roles in a number of different systems (Bell and Sirjamaki, 1965).

The system approach takes into account the elements or components of the family and the connections or linkages that exist between components and between other systems (Miller, 1978). It also takes into account both inputs and outputs. This approach allows the scientist to examine the vitality of the family as a unit or system and as a part of society. It is within this context that low-income families are examined in this investigation.

In an attempt to capture the dynamics of processes, as well as inputs and outputs, low-income families are viewed within the context of systems theory. "A system is defined as a set of components interacting with each other and a boundary which possesses the property of filtering both the kind and rate of flow of inputs and outputs to and from the system" (Berrien, 1968: 15). The family is defined as persons related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and living in the same household. It is viewed as a system which interacts with other open systems at the local, regional and national levels.

An open system is defined as one that receives inputs from its environment (Kuhn, 1974) and produces outputs to other systems in its environment. Inputs are viewed as resources received by the family and outputs are viewed as resources generated or produced by the family for use by other systems. They are services that are generally provided by the larger community such as health care, education, training, and job placement. Outputs are considered to be those contributions that are generally made by individuals and families to the larger community such as labor, skills, experience, etc. Another important concept in the systems approach is feedback. This concept is used to refer to the "input-to-output" linkages between individuals, the family, and government agencies, etc. (Cortes, et. al., 1974).

The concept of function is used to refer to how inputs are transformed into activities. Here the focus is on the utilization and consequences of inputs. For example, an attempt is made to answer the following kinds of questions: (1) do mandated government programs (inputs) improve the quality of life or standard of living among the targeted groups? (2) are targeted groups more self-sufficient as a consequence of government programs? And (3) to what extent are local banks and other financial institutions involved in helping the poor? An examination of the linkages between the family and government programs such as the Farmer's Home Administration, Employment Security, the Food Stamp Program, Public Health Services, Mental Health Programs, Production Credit, 235 Housing, Medicare, Medicaid and others in terms of their utilization and effectiveness should provide implications for the direction that should be taken by such programs in the future.

Conclusion

The foregoing theoretical framework mirrors the low income rural family as an open system with a rather complex pattern of relationships with other open systems in its environment. The focus is on relations and processes rather than on theoretical concepts about culture and individual behavior. The framework raises questions about the nature of the relationships between components of the family as a unit. It also raises questions about the relationships between the family and other systems in its environment including mandated government programs. The objective in using the systems approach to identify, describe and analyze the linkages and relationships within and between various systems is to maximize objectivity and comprehension in the analysis of factors associated with poverty.

REFERENCES

Bell, Earl H. and John Sirjamaki
1965 Social Foundations of Human Behavior, 2nd Edition. New York: Harper and Row.
Berrien, Kenneth
1968 General and Social Systems. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
Cortes, Fernado, Adam Przeworksi and John Sprague
1974 Systems Analysis for Social Scientists. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
Kuhn, Alfred
1974 The Logic of Social Systems. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
Miller, James Grier
1978 Living Systems. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
Sowell, Thomas
1981 Ethnic America. New York: Basic Books.
Thomas, George
1972 Poverty in the Non-metropolitan South: A Causal Analysis. Lexington, Massachussetts: D.C. Heath and Company.

Chapter 2

Sample Design

Gerald C. Wheelock, Robert L. Phillips, Jr. and Jogindar S. Dhillon

ABSTRACT

The research objectives, a multistate organization of research resources, and the constraints these objectives and resources pose for sample design are discussed in this Chapter. In accord with the purposes of the study, the sample frame was comprised of uniformly defined low-income rural counties in 10 participating Southern states. A minimum sample of 240 households was drawn in each state.

A multistage cluster sample design yielded 10 state samples with a household's probability of selection proportionate to the size of the population of its county. The design allowed for both multiple tests of region wide hypotheses and sample sizes large enough for state level analyses. Representativeness of both the systematic random sample of counties and the random cluster samples are tested against 1980 Census of Population data.

Introduction

The major sampling objective of this investigation was to adequately represent populations in low income rural counties in each of 10 participating states. The second major consideration was to utilize a strategy to represent variation in county racial composition, both within states and across the region, while keeping survey costs to a minimum. The emphasis on populations in rural low income counties is justified in part in that they are among the least intensively studied. Public data sets such as the 1970 one-in-100 public use samples (PUS) do not provide sufficient detail on place-of-residence or place-of-work to identify rural low income populations. For example, county identification of households in the PUS is suppressed except for counties or groups with populations of 250,000 or larger. Furthermore, only larger state files identify households by urban or rural and by metropolitan or nonmetropolitan location. Few rural or southern states are large enough to allow these disclosures by the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1970).

Finally, the "Neighborhood Characteristic PUS Files" do identify size of the urbanized area in which sample households reside although distinctions between metropolitan-rural and nonmetropolitan-rural households are suppressed. Unfortunately, it is this distinction that is critical to this study. For rural populations, the same nondisclosure rules limit utility of special censuses and surveys administered by the Bureau. Of course, cross tabulations published from the decennial census by the Bureau provide considerable detail on rural counties. Even finer details are available on Summary Tape Files (STFs) for County Census Divisions (CCDs), Minor Civil Divisions (MCDs) and Enumeration Districts (EDs) within rural counties. While useful to researchers concerned with county aggregates or comparative studies of county units, STFs do not allow study of poverty at various stages of a household's life cycle in rural counties of the South, the first specific research objective of this study (RRI).

Similarly, other RRI objectives for low income rural counties cannot be studied with either STFs or PUSs. These objectives are related to the availability, eligibility, knowledge, and utilization of and attitudes toward agency services and how these factors are associated with various household characteristics including indicators of inter-or intra-generational poverty.

At the local level, many specialized applied studies address these objectives but seldom are such studies aggregated into regional level comparisons. With a region-wide sample design, it was intended that the analytical methods used in this study would allow the project to distinguish between regional and state level patterns of poverty and agencies that would be appropriate to these patterns.

Face to face interviews rather than mail questionnaires or telephone surveys were deemed necessary to insure a representative sample. Certainly those without telephones or those having difficulty reading and writing would be underrepresented. Low-income rural counties were expected to have a high percentage of households in these categories.

Ten state research organizations - one regional research project RRI was organized cooperatively by social scientists, primarily rural sociologists and economists, from 1890 Land Grant Institutions. Coordination among 1890 Land-Grant Institution scientists and their research directors evolved into cooperative state funding of the project. While researchers in all 17 southern states with 1890 Land Grant Institutions considered implementing the project, researchers at Florida A&M, Fort Valley State (Georgia) and South Carolina State initiated its development. Ten contiguous southeastern States composed the research sites. These included Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Sampling

The technical committee deliberated the merits of a purposive versus a random sample. It was considered important that the methods be standardized for all states. Finally, the technical committee decided upon a two-stage sample design— one sample for each of 10 states. The first stage in each state was to be a systematic random sample of three racially mixed (minimum 400 black population), low-income (lower 35%), rural (70%) counties. The second stage was to be a random cluster sample with clusters allocated in proportion to size of each of the three counties. The principles of Equal Probability of Selection Method (EPSEM) and cluster sampling in proportion to size were used (Kish, 1965). In the first stage, probability of a county's selection was to be in proportion to its population size within each state's sampling frame of rural low-income counties. Furthermore, to insure a range of counties with respect to racial composition, the counties listed in each state's sampling frame were ordered by percentage white. Three counties were then sampled systemically with a random start located between zero and one-third of the total population of all counties on each state's list. The sample interval was equal to one-third the total population (Kish, 1965: 82-92).

Cluster Sampling, Size, and Household Listing

For the second stage, random cluster sampling was selected as most practical. While cluster sampling lowers the cost of sampling and data collection per household, the household variance is large, resulting from the irregular homogeneity of households in clusters (Kish, 1965:148-151). It was decided that the travel costs to cover and supervise a complete random sample of households was a much greater problem than the statistical analysis problems created by cluster sampling. The following sampling procedure was devised.

National geological survey maps (2x series) with a 15 minute by 15 minute grid superimposed were used to define the "open country" sampling frame of clusters for each county. Intersections on this grid were numbered sequentially and thus constituted the total sample frame of potential cluster starting points on each map. Samples cluster numbers were then drawn from a list of random numbers. Since the cluster area sampling technique assumes an equal distribution of the population, counties with towns of 1,000 or more population were given special treatment. The "town" strata and the "open-country" strata were allocated clusters in proportion to their population share. The town strata were defined with the use of town maps. Each street intersection was numbered to constitute the sampling frame and numbers representing the sample clusters were drawn from a list of random numbers.

From this point all maps were centrally processed at Alabama A&M University using a systematic serpentine entry into sample clusters. Exact procedures used are documented in the Basebook (Wheelock, et al; 1983:65-66). The serpentine procedure insured a standarized method of defining random entry into each sample cluster. For field work, 1980 census enumeration maps of each county and town, were secured from the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Starting points and open-ended cluster outlines were transferred to each map.

Even with cluster sampling, considerable interviewer training in reading maps and locating households was required For economy in the data collection stage, cluster size was fixed at eight households. For simplicity in implementation the first eight households within the defined, but open-ended boundaries of each cluster were designated as sample households. A minimum of 30 clusters and 240 households were sampled per state. To further minimize the discretion required by several interviewers per state (perhaps 50 interviewers region wide), centrally trained sampling teams (one for each state) located the clusters, listed the households, and in most cases photographed the sample homes. Interviewers were then supplied with verifiable descriptions and photographs of the homes in which they were to conduct interviews. The only discretion left to the interviewer was to locate substitute households in the event of refusal or evacuation by the sample households. The sample rules prescribed that any substitutions would be the next household adjacent to the open-end of the original cluster.

Representativeness of Sample Counties - First Stage

A total of 162 low income rural counties were defined for the ten states. The rural criterion (at least 70% rural) was fixed for all states, but the economic criterion was relative to the distribution of median incomes for rural counties in each state. Only 35 percent of the rural counties in each state were included, those with the lowest per capita income.

Before sampling counties, each state's list was stratified into counties with all white populations (technically less than 400 blacks in 1960 or 1970) and mixed white and black populations. Region wide, 97 counties had mixed populations, so the criteria were relaxed to include Kentucky counties with any black population. Technically, the Kentucky counties sampled were defined as having all white populations and the remaining state samples included only counties with mixed populations. In the remaining states, the nine sample frames included 96 counties: 27 sample counties and 69 non-sample counties.

These two sets of counties were assumed to derive from a population of counties having a common variance. In Table 1, population means for the two groups of counties are presented for (1) percent black population - 1970, (2) per capita income - 1974, and (3) percent families by race below the poverty level - 1970. The 27 sample counties had an average of 44.7% black population in 1970 compared with 48.2% for the balance of the sampling frame. Mean per capita income of the two groups differed by only $75, $2555 vs. $2480. The means for percent white and black families below poverty were also nearly identical, 18.5% vs. 19.3% for white families and 58.6% vs. 59.5% for black families in the sample and non-sample counties, respectively.

Using the t-test to compare means of independent samples from a population of counties with a common variance, the two-tailed probabilities of the means for these variables differing, as they did here, is greater than .05. Therefore, the hypothesis of equal means (Ho: X1 = X2) was not rejected. Similarly, the hypotheses of no differences in means for the percent employed in agriculture and the percent over age 65 and under age 18 were not rejected. Only the means for total population and percent employed in another county in 1970 were significantly different for the two samples. The 27 sample counties had a mean population of 17,200 compared with 12,400 in the non-sample counties. The larger sample counties had average 22.9% out-of-county

Table 2-1. Sampling of Rural Counties (70% = 1) With Low Median income (Lower 35% Rural Counties) and 400 or More Black Population for 10 Southern States

County Sampling Frame by State			% Black Population 1970	Per Capita income 1974	Families Below Poverty	
					% White 1970	% Non-White 1970
*1	AL	3	48.0	2379	17.5	61.8
2		8	57.8	2317	17.6	65.0
1	AR	3	31.7	2533	22.4	59.0
2		0	—	—	—	—
1	FL	3	31.0	2824	22.0	64.7
2		3	23.6	2608	16.6	62.9
1	GA	3	49.3	2495	16.0	59.7
2		22	49.9	2350	19.9	58.7
1	KY	3	2.5	2209	45.2	50.5
2		1	6.4	2451	37.2	85.6
1	MS	3	53.0	2133	20.7	73.0
2		12	57.9	2183	22.6	72.0
1	NC	3	53.6	2681	14.9	50.3
2		7	42.8	2706	19.7	52.0
1	SC	3	59.0	2485	13.3	59.0
2		3	60.7	2365	15.3	58.7
1	TN	3	32.7	2436	25.3	52.0
2		1	5.5	2255	33.5	18.2
1	VA	3	44.4	3028	14.8	47.6
2		13	41.1	3001	16.7	52.9
1	TOT	30	40.5	2520	21.2	57.8
2		70	48.2	2480	19.6	59.9
1	TOT	27**	44.7	2555	18.5	58.6
2		69**	48.2	2480	19.3	59.5

*1 = Sample counties
2 = Other counties with 400 or more black population
** The hypotheses of equal means for counties in the two nine state samples (Kentucky excluded) are not rejected at the .05 level.

commuters compared to 29.6% in the non-sample counties. On the average, sample counties had larger populations and a smaller percentage of commuters. These differences can be attributed to the results of the sampling method, i.e., a county's chance of being sampled is in direct proportion to its population size.

At least with respect to economic dimensions, it appears that these counties are representative of low-income, racially mixed, rural counties of the region.

The 62 all-white, rural, low-income counties in the 10 states are not significantly different from the 96 sample frame counties with respect to 1970 percent engaged in agriculture or 1974 per capita income. The white counties did have a significantly higher percent of white families below poverty 35% vs. 18%. However, when blacks and whites were taken together in the mixed racial counties, the percentages were nearly equal. The all-white counties also had significantly more residents over age 64 but fewer under age 18. While the all white counties had a smaller mean population (11,067) than the racially mixed sample, they had only 24% out-of-county commuters in their labor force. In sum, the white counties appeared to have an older more settled labor force and comparable mean household income. No attempt was made to generalize from the racially mixed county sample to the all-white counties.

Representativeness of 10 State Random Cluster Samples - Second Stage

Technically, the samples from which data were collected in this survey are state level random cluster samples. This section reports on the attempt to evaluate the representativeness of these samples relative to Census of Population counts for the same counties in each state.

One variable was used to initiate this evaluation, the percent of the population which was black. The total number of completed interview schedules and the race of respondent households were tallied as the data were collected in each state during the second half of 1981. County population counts by race for the 1980 Census of Population were used as the criterion variable. For example, random samples with a minimum of 240 households (one state) and an expectation that 45% of the sample would be black would have a standard error of 3.2. Excluding Kentucky, standard errors ranged from 2.9 for Florida to 3.22 for Mississippi. According to sampling theory, 67% of a set of random samples could be expected to fall within one standard error of the population mean, 95% within two standard errors, and 99% within three standard errors. As acknowledged above, however, the random cluster sample techniques employed here will yield larger standard errors and variances than would be expected with random sampling of households. At the time of this analysis the data were insufficient (within-clusters and between-cluster variances) to estimate the standard error expected of cluster sampling.

In Table 2, it may be observed that the sample estimates for only two states, Alabama and Tennessee, fell within ± one standard error of their population means. Estimates for two more states (40% of sample), North Carolina and South Carolina, fell within ± two standard errors. Finally, estimates for all 10 states fell within 3.5 standard errors of the expected proportion. The Spearman's rho (rank-order) correlation between the percent black for the 1980 Census and percent black for the survey sample was .87. In short, the samples' fit to their population parameters appeared to be very close in spite of the greater variances expected of random cluster sample techniques.

Furthermore, when all 10 samples were combined, 37.3% of the 2,554 respondents were found to be black. This compared with 39.1% of

Table 2-2. RR-1 Survey vs. 1980 Census Counts of Percent Black by State

	1980 Census	1981 Survey*
Kentucky	2	0^{3}
Florida	27	36^{3}
Tennesse	27	26^{1}
Arkansas	29	39^{3+}
Virginia	42	34^{3}
Alabama	45	44^{1}
Georgia	48	38^{3+}
Mississippi	50	39^{3+}
North Carolina	54	48^{2}
South Carolina	60	65^{2}
Total	39.1	37.2^{2}

Spearman's rho rank-order correlation

$r_s(n = 10) = .87$

$r_s(n = 9) = .82$ (excludes Kentucky)

*number of standard errors in % black for which the survey differs from Census (1980)

Table 2-3. RR-1 Survey vs. 1980 U.S. Census Counts of Percentage Black by County

Sample County	% Black - 1970 Census	% Black - 1980 Census	 Survey*
McCeary, KY	0	1	0^{1}
Clay, KY	0	2	0^{2}
Cocke, TN	3	2	2^{1}
Monroe, KY	0	3	0^{2}
Cleveland, AR	20	15	26^{3}
Washington, FL	20	20	21^{2}
Jackson, FL	29	26	37^{3}
Washington, AL	30	28	18^{2}
Calhoun, AR	32	28	30^{1}
Lauderdale, TN	34	31	40^{2}
Johnson, GA	32	32	31^{1}
Lousia, VA	39	33	21^{3}
Leake, MS	36	35	3^{5}
Mechlenberg, VA	42	40	29^{3}
Lafayette, AR	43	41	53^{3}
Monroe, AL	46	43	43^{1}
Madison, FL	44	43	47^{1}
Hoke, NC	44	44	22^{5}
Fayette, T	61	51	41^{2}
Green, GA	52	53	37^{4}
Quitman, MS	57	56	59^{1}
Brunswick, VA	58	57	54^{1}
Clarendon,SC	62	57	73^{4}
Fairfield, SC	59	58	64^{2}
Berti, NC	57	59	56^{1}
Warren, NC	60	59	65^{2}
Williamsburg, SC	61	62	57^{2}
Stewart, GA	64	64	48^{3}
Noxumbee, MS	66	65	64^{1}
Wilcox, AL	69	69	76^{2}

Product movement correlations (r) using percentages (above the diagonal) and Spearman's rho rank order correlations (r_s). (n = 30)

DATA SOURCE	SURVEY	CENSUS '80	CENSUS '70
SURVEY	1.00	.87	.89
CENSUS '80	.882	1.00	.98
CENSUS '70	.885	—	1.00

*number of standard errors for which the survey % black differs from the Census (1980) percent.

the total population (553,850 in 1980) for these 30 counties. The 1.8% difference was within two standard errors (± 1.9%) of the total population proportion.

At the county level (Table 3), it may be observed that 11 of 30 counties had sample estimates within one standard error of their population parameter for percent black. Another nine for a total of 67% were within two standard errors and five more for a total of 83% were within three standard errors. As expected, the standard errors were typically larger than would be predicted for a simple random sample. Similar to the state samples, however, the rank-order correlations were high, .88 for all 30 counties and .82 for the 27 counties excluding Kentucky.

There is a possibility that prior knowledge of percent black for 1970 influenced field selection of cluster starting points based on map reading or household substitution procedures. If this were the case, it would be expected that the samples would yield percent black estimates more in line with the 1970 than the 1980 Census counts. While the differences are very slight, this did happen. Eight of the county estimates, excluding Kentucky, were closer to the 1980 population parameter while 12 were closer to the 1970 population parameter. Seven counties showed equal differences between 1970 and 1980. While it would be more satisfying to find this comparison reversed, the differences are very subtle and are unlikely to affect analysis. The product-moment correlation for this sample and 1970 was .883 and for 1980 it was .879. This hypothesis may be further tested by age variables or family size variables taken from both the survey and the Census for which prior knowledge is not a factor.

Conclusions

Until other population parameter can be compared with sample estimates, it is tentatively concluded that the samples are generally representative at the local, state and regional levels. While some individual samples deviate considerably from their population parameter, the high correlations between the two measures suggest that correlation analysis will not be greatly distorted by a few deviant samples. However, descriptive estimates of population parameters based on these cluster samples should be adjusted for the cluster variances.

REFERENCES

Kish, Leslie
1965 Survey Sampling New York: John Wiley.

U. S. Bureau of Census
1970 1970 Census User's Guide, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Wheelock, Gerald et al.
1983 "Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low-Income Areas of the Rural South: A Base book." 1890 Land-Grant Regional Publication No. 1. Alabama A&M University. Normal, AL.

Chapter 3

The Isolation of Poverty Differentials in the Rural South

Alton Thompson

ABSTRACT

The focus on this Chapter is to determine the extent to which the socio-demographic variables of race, sex, age, education, occupation, farm status, number of children and marital disruption are predictors of a rural family's level of poverty. Discriminant analysis is used to assess the accuracy of these variables in distinguishing between poor and nonpoor families and subsequently, a long-linear analysis is performed on the three most important discriminants (education, race and sex) to determine their net effect on poverty status.

The results are supportive of previous studies as these variables are found to be statistically significant discriminants between the poor and the nonpoor. A composite profile of a rural poor head of household is a poorly educated, semi-skilled, female, black, farm resident who tends to be old, have a large number of children and has experienced marital disruption. The results of the log-linear analysis are consistent with those of the discriminant analysis as blacks, female heads of household and persons with less than a high school education have higher odds of being in poverty. Finally, a log-linear model that includes the main effects of race, sex and education and the race-education interaction term is shown to fit the data well.

Introduction

Social scientists are increasingly focusing their research on the problem of rural poverty. Seven considerations mark this current line of analysis. The first is a concern with the quality of life among impoverished groups in the rural population. Second, poverty is a persistent force that affects the normative system and behavior patterns of those affected. The third concern involves the link between poverty and many concomitant social problems (crime and delinquency, family and generational problems, prejudice and discrimination, and unemployment). Fourth, the rate of poverty in nonmetropolitan areas is higher, more diffuse and acute than in metropolitan areas. The fifth and sixth concerns consist respectively of the resultant policy changes due to the changing character of the nonmetropolitan occupational structure from mostly rural farm to rural nonfarm, and the relation of rural poverty to regional economic development. The final concern is recent Census data estimates that the percent of the total population below the poverty threshold increased from 12 percent in 1981 to 15 percent in 1983, or roughly from twenty-five million to thirty-four million Americans. Collectively, these concerns suggest a need to fill the crucial void in our knowledge concerning the persistent, agonizing problem of poverty in American society — a problem which rural areas have not escaped. Poverty is not a uniform condition, and the outlook for those who are poor is vastly different from those beyond the liminal levels of poverty. Therefore, the intent of the Johnson's Administration's Great Society program "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty", continues to remain a paradox. Or to put it another way, poverty differentials are inextricately tied to a complex network of cultural, economic, political, psychological, social and structural relationships that in the past have strongly challenged codification and have made effective planning, program implementation and policy recommendations extremely arduous.

The preceding concerns together with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (in which President Johnson declared an unconditional war on poverty) have resulted in a number of studies that have focused on the economic and social problems of the poor, particularly the urban poor. Despite the establishment of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in 1967, a unit that was charged with recommending action "to provide opportunities for the rural population to share in America's abundance . . . ," there has been a serious lack of attention given to rural poverty (Bould, 1977:472), and; it remains a major societal problem today (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971; Rogers and Burdge, 1972; Chadwick and Bahr, 1973; Horton and Leslie, 1973; Coppedge and Davis, 1977; Rodgers, 1979; Hassinger, 1973; Osmond, 1978; Rodgers, 1982; Daft, 1980; Hoppe, 1980; Fitchen, 1981).

Some researchers, such as Gans, contend that poverty has not been irradicated because it is functional; that is, it serves useful functions for members of society such as creating a job market for penologists, criminologists, social workers and public health workers. The poor also perform the low-paid dirty-work' and other menial tasks (Gans, 1972:272-79). Other frequently cited reasons for the continued existence of poverty include: lack of mobility, low educational attainment, family structure and size, structural constraints, social disorganization, selective outmigration and population redistribution, alienation, anomie, and cultural differences. Thus, poverty appears to be multidimensional phenomenon that is woven deeply into the fabric of American society; albeit, to date, the theory and data are inadequate. Social science research on the poor has failed to provide a body of coedified knowledge, a topic that is discussed in the next section. The need for theory and research in furthering our understanding of poverty still persists and consequently, it is requisite to go beyond descriptive studies of the poor. With this in mind, the focus of the present study is to determine the extent to which eight socio-demographic variables-race, sex of head of household, age, farm status, education, occupation, number of children, and marital disruption-are predictors of a family's level of poverty.

Theoretical Considerations

Theoretical orientations or explanations of poverty have been strategically formulated at several conceptual levels that include a number of tested hypotheses or propositions supportive of the viewpoint of their proponents. In somewhat the same vein, critics have offered alternative interpretations of the empirical research that serves as the basis for these explanations; the theory is only as good as the data. To wit, Miller (1970:140) contends that "woefully inadequate theory" and "skimpy data" have been recurring themes in poverty research and that "the data upon which generalizations are wrought are indeed very scanty . . . Not only do the data collide with each other, but they are based on studies of restricted, constricted situations . . ." (1970:169). In other words, Miller is arguing that explanations of poverty do not constitute a codified body of knowledge, but rather a one-sided emphasis on either the social, psychological, political or economic aspect of the human condition. Writing in a similar vein, Allen states that "the theory is woefully inadequate for problems presented by poverty" (1970:149). The latter comments notwithstanding, several theorists have contributed to an understanding of poverty and their explanations have centered around: (1) the poor are solely responsible for their impoverishment; (2) poverty results in exploitation by the rich; (3) the quality imbalance of the supply and demand for labor; (4) discrimination; (5) the time lag in the process of adjustment of technical and other changes in a dynamic economy; (6) differential power among enterprises and groups; (7) dual labor market, and (8) subclass theory that takes into account racism, sexism, welfare capitalism, elite rule and geographic location (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971: 3-5; Rodgers, 1982:36-46). In short, however, these explanations of poverty can be abridged to three conceptual levels: cultural, structural and situational.

The most frequently cited theoretical explanation of poverty is the "culture of poverty" hypothesis advanced by Oscar Lewis. Lewis first suggested this thesis in 1959 in a work entitled *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty.* He averred:

> Poverty becomes a dynamic factor which affects participation in the large national culture and creates a subculture of its own. One can speak of the culture of the poor, for it has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. It seems . . . that the culture of poverty cuts across regional, rural-urban, and even national boundaries the remarkable similarities in family structure, the nature of kinship ties, the quality of husband-wife and parent-child relations, time orientations, spending patterns, value systems, and the sense of community found in lower-class settlements in London Puerto Rico, Mexico City slums and Mexican villages, and among lower-class (Blacks) in the United States (1959:2).

In a later work, Lewis contends that the "culture of poverty" is a "subculture of Western society with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines . . . a culture in the traditional anthropological sense that it provides human beings a design for living" (1966:19). Implicit in these statements is that a person learns a coherent set of values, attitudes and beliefs (culture) which hinders participation in the larger society. In short, Lewis feels that conditions of poverty generate a set of values and behavior patterns that are unique to the poor and inclusive of such characteristics as fatalistic attitudes toward life, lack of initiative and deferred gratification, strong feelings of alienation, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority.

Lewis' thesis was later used extensively by Michael Harrington (1962) in a work entitled *The Other America*, but in a somewhat broader and less technical sense than Lewis. Nonetheless, Lewis' hypothesis is controversial and has been widely debated and adequately critiqued, most notably by Valentine (1968) and Leacock (1971).

The second theoretical framework is the "structure of poverty" argument. This thesis directly challenges the assumptions inherent in the "culture of poverty" hypothesis and suggests that poverty is a condition of society, not a consequence of individual characteristics. Further, the argument holds that "distinctive patterns of social life at the lowest income levels are determined by structural conditions of society beyond the control of low income people, not by socialization in primary groups committed to a separate cultural design . . . the design for living received by the poor through socialization is not significantly distinct from that of the society as a whole, but the actual conditions of low income life are importantly inconsistent with actualization of this cultural design" (Valentine, 1968:129). This explanation of poverty is, of course, rooted in Merton's structural functionalist approach, specifically his typology on modes of adaptation (1956:140, 146-147). Merton asserted that certain structural features or institutionalized means of our society make certain goals more difficult for some than others; the opportunity structure in a society is the means available for achieving goal for all. For example, the relationship between poverty and crime has been interpreted as the outcome of a social structure whereby unequal opportunity exists for different strata with identical success goals. This interpretation not only ignores the tenets of the "culture of poverty," but explicitly adheres to the idea that different social strata share the same cultural values. Additional examples of faults in the social structure that contribute to poverty include: (1) racial discrimination in employment where minority groups have been last hired and first fired and relegated to dead-end jobs; (2) sexual discrimination in employment has traditionally excluded women from managerial and professional jobs; (3) educational opportunities, which are related to employment, are more accessible to upper and middle-class youth than to lower-class youth, and (4) conditions of employment of migrant farm workers-seasonal, uncertain and low paying (Hassinger, 1978:358-359).

In sum, a structuralist would argue that the "culture of poverty" thesis has omitted the crucial structural parameters of society and has concentrated instead on questionable attitudinal and motivational idiosyncracies of the poor that are of nebulous validity.

Situational explanations, the third theoretical framework, view behavior characteristics of the poor as adaptations to environment and circumstance (Billings, 1974:321). These theorists focus chiefly on social and psychological variables and perceive cultural values of those in poverty much the same as middle-class values, simply modified in practice because of situational stress. As such, situationalists are critical of cultural theories for failing to consider poverty in its full context, the community (Billings, 1974:321). If the latter were incorporated, Valentine (1968:54-59,63) avers that so-called pathogenic traits of the poor would also be recognized as healthy and positive aspects, indicative of a creative adaptation to conditions of deprivation. Additional support is given by Rodman's notion of "value stretch" which is a lower-class adaptive response to its deprived situation reflective of a wider range of values and a lower degree of commitment to these values (1963:208-210).

In short, a situationalist would argue that "exclusive attention to traits of family life, childhood socialization and personality necessarily neglects the often subsocial structure and are the basis of social ties-informal social networks which constitute control and community" (Billings, 1974:321). That is, an understanding of patterned group behavior serves as an important conduit in explaining the response of those in poverty to disadvantaged situations.

While the "cultural," "structural," and "situational" roots of poverty have been presented separately, they are not mutually exclusive. For example, Hassinger (1978:339) states "it may lead only to frustration or worse to train and motivate persons for jobs that don't exist; contrariwise it is of little value to open high level positions to blacks and women if qualified people are not available to fill them." Further, Billings (1974:315) notes that 'culture' is responsive to 'situation.' One critical question, however, with regard to the "culture of poverty" hypothesis still concerns its validity. Therefore, the latter two explanations serve as the underlying orientations of this Chapter.

Relevant Empirical Research

As alluded to above, poverty is not a uniform condition, that is, certain social, demographic and economic groups face a higher (often much higher) than average chance of being poor. The intent of this section, therefore, is to briefly examine the nature and magnitude of eight poverty differentials that serve as the focus of this Chapter.

Poverty and race, Stringfellow (1966:143-144) contends, are profoundly entangled in America . . . poverty remains most stubborn where it is associated with those who are not white . . . notably . . . (Blacks)." To put it mildly, the incidence of poverty among blacks is much higher than that of whites with no discernible narrowing trend. While numerically a majority of the poor are white, only 10.2 percent of white Americans were poor in 1980 compared to 32.5 percent of black

Americans (Rodgers, 1982:31). Further, approximately forty-one percent of all rural blacks, but only twelve percent of all rural whites, had incomes below the minimum subsistence level (Hoppe, 1980:7). Essentially, the pervasiveness of the high ratio of black to white poverty is an example of a faulty social structure. For example, Hassinger (1978:361) argues that "from slavery to sharecropping, to displaced agricultural workers, economic opportunities have been systematically curtailed;" in addition, discrimination exists in other elements of the opportunity structure such as education and health services. Among others, Stringfellow (1966:144), Thurow (1969:117-126), Morrill and Wohlenberg (1971:84-85) and Perlman (1976:68-72) lend support to this structural argument; specifically, the latter author avers that "blacks are trapped in a vicious circle of institutionalized racism as well as overt discrimination that exacerbates the difficulty of avoiding poverty." Finally, as Hassinger (1978:361) succinctly states: "to be rural and black means that the person is likely to live in the South; it also means that he is likely to be poor."

Besides the racial aspects of poverty, families with a female head of household are more likely to be impoverished than families with a male head of household. In fact, Rodgers (1982:32) contends that one of the most dramatic changes in the composition of American poverty in the last twenty-five years has been the "feminization of poverty," as manifested by an eighty percent increase in female heads of households. In 1980, 6.2 percent of male-headed families were poor compared to 32.7 percent of female-headed families.

Women who are heads of families typically have many handicaps when it comes to securing an adequate living. For example, the presence of minor children in the home may make it extremely difficult for mothers to work outside the home; moreover, the token amount of child support paid by the father, if paid at all, usually does not permit a decent standard of living. Also, women tend to be confronted with discriminatory hiring practices and consistently lower wages (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971:84; Horton and Leslie, 1973:337, Perlman, 1976:31, 35, 85; White et. al., 1981:2-3; Beeghley, 1983:162). Further, Perlman (1976:104) asserts that four labor market factors inhibit the attainment of adequate income by women. They are: (1) low labor market participation; (2) prevalence of part-time and sporadic work effort; (3) concentration of low-paying jobs; and (4) lower pay than men receive in jobs they do hold. In short, the impoverishment of women and female-headed families occurs chiefly because of a combination of labor market discrimination and a special imperative to rear children which adversely affects their educational decisions and job choices.

Persons sixty-five years of age and older have the highest incidence of poverty of all age groups in the population, thirteen percent (Rodgers, 1982:32). Two characteristics appear to be highly correlated with the existence of poverty among the elderly: (1) high levels of unemployment and underemployment and (2) high levels of infirmities, which tend to affect their ability to seek and/or maintain gainful employment (Coppedge and Davis, 1977: 23; Schiller, 1973:64). In addition, poverty among the rural elderly is exacerbated by the problems associated with planning and the aging process itself. Some persons experience impoverishment for the first time as they grow old; few ever plan to get old and retire. Older persons not only live on fixed incomes, but tend to have greater transportational, nutritional and health care needs. In fact, the most often cited reason for poverty among the elderly is the inadequacy of welfare, social security and other public assistance programs on which they are heavily dependent (Rodgers and Burdge, 1972:394; Schiller, 1973:69; McKee and Robertson, 1975: 263; Perlman, 1976:33; Fitchen, 1981:121). The elderly poor have few resources and consequently, little hope of escaping poverty. Moreover, in a corollary sort of way, Kreps (1968:40) states that the double handicap of being both aged and of rural residence is further accentuated by the lower educational attainment of the elderly.

This chapter also includes two social status variables, education and occupation. An inverse relationship has been found between these variables and poverty status (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971:83; Bourvier and Lee, 1972; 4; Schiller, 1973:99; Morgan, 1974:23-26; Horton and Leslie, 1978:332-333; Beeghley, 1983:159). The tie between education, occupation and poverty status is very close in that the jobs with the highest educational requirements are those whose holders are least likely to be poor. Further, low educational attainment is correlated not only with low-paying jobs, but also with nonparticipation in the work force, another factor of poverty (Perlman, 1976:62). Thus, increasing a person's educational level affords more opportunities for better-paying, more stable and renumerative employment.

The absolute importance of education and occupation on the incidence of poverty was provided in a study of SEA's (state economic areas) by Morrill and Wohlenberg (1971:93). Of the fifty-one variables in their model, median years of school completed achieved a rank of *one* (r = -0.81) while percent in white collar occupations achieved a rank of *six* (r = -0.65). In sum, being poor typically means being poorly educated and, at best, in a semi-skilled occupation.

Poverty appears more prevalent among farm than among nonfarm residents (Burchinal and Siff, 1964:401: Thurow, 1967:42; Herr, 1968:526; Hassinger, 1978: 366-367). Fitchen (1981:49-50) contends that many farm people were left behind and "trapped in poverty" as agricultural society became increasingly more mechanized, specialized, commercialized and capital intensive. This transition occurred during the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's and many farmers had insufficient management skills to avoid becoming a victim of poverty.

The high rate of poverty among farmers implies that more farmers may experience foreclosures, consequently exacerbating the problems of unemployment, agricultural land loss, urban blight, and possibly enlarged welfare recipients' roles. This was well stated by former Senator Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia when warned:

> If we adopt policies which drive those farm families off the land, we will have ignored our heritage and the sad lessons of the past few decades when 39 million people were forced out of rural America into ghettos and slums. Farm program costs are a pittance compared to the cost of dealing with urban blight.

Recent demonstrations by the American Agricultural Movement (AAM) and the creation of Secretary to Agriculture, John R. Block's small farm task force seem to suggest that farming as a viable occupation is at best unpromising, hopeless or bleak. Partial support for this statement is provided by Morrill and Wohlenberg (1971:93) who reported that of fifty-one correlates of poverty, "percent population rural farm" achieved a rank of eight with a coefficient of 0.64.

The parallelism between fertility and poverty is also well documented (Tien, 1961:243; Levitan, 1969:54,207; Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971:86; Schiller, 1973: 74-78). Levitan (1969:207) explicitly states that "excess fertility" or having more children than desired is one of the most common traits of poverty, and Schiller (1973:74) suggests the poor exhibit little self-control and, therefore, are responsible for much of their own impoverishment. Later in his analysis, however, Schiller concludes that a large family size is a correlate of poverty, not a cause. Further, it can be argued that a large number of children reflect the goals and aspirations of a poor family and not necessarily a lack of self-control. Partial support for this argument is found in Fitchen (1981:127). Nonetheless, a large number of children constitute a sizeable drain on family resources which aggravates the problem of poverty. Not only are the economic and physical needs of the family increased, but the mother is likely to be restricted to the home. If, however, the mother chooses to seek employment, she must pay someone else to care for the children or work at nights or both. In any event, the family is adversely affected.

In short, a positive relationship has been found between the number of children and poverty status; that is, as the number of children increases, the incidence of poverty also increases.

Finally, close examinations of "pockets" of poverty indicate that marital disruption is typically responsible for the low average income of the poor (Perlman, 1976:34; Hoffman, 1977:67, 75; Espenshade, 1979:616; Fitchen, 1981:106; Weitzman, 1981:1249-1250). In comparing intact families with families that have undergone marital disruption (divorced or separated), Weitzman (1981:1249-1250) reports that the former experienced a twenty-two percent rise in real income while the latter experienced a twenty-four percent drop in real income. Similar estimates are reported by Hoffman (1977:69). Thus, the data used by both authors confirm our common sense belief that both parties suffer, at least economically, after a divorce or separation and also that women experience a greater loss than do their former husbands. To be specific, divorced men experienced nineteen percent loss in real income compared to a twenty-nine percent loss in real income by divorced women. In addition to a decline in real income, women are usually awarded custody of the children, without commensurate financial assistance from fathers and face other impediments in the labor markets to higher pay and adequate job opportunities (Espenshade, 1979:623).

In short, marital disruption merits attention as a poverty differential because the family becomes severely handicapped in an effort to attain economic security. Potential income is reduced by more than half with the departure of one parent . . . The seminal importance of marital disruption is reflected in part by an increase in the divorce rate from 4/1000 in 1940 to 5.3/1000 in 1981 while the marriage rate dropped from 12/1000 to 10.5/1000. Thus, now the rate of divorce is one-half the marriage rate; in addition, adding those who are legally separated and widowed would further swell the ranks of families that have experienced marital disruption.

In summary, the literature along with the present data (see Thompson et. al., 1984) suggest that poverty tends to be concentrated among blacks, female heads of household, the elderly, poorly educated, low or semi-skilled workers, farm residents, families with a large number of children, and perhaps, families that have undergone marital disruption. Following brief discussions of the operational definitions and statistical methodology, a vigorous examination of the present data will be undertaken to test the aforementioned differentials of poverty.

Operational Definitions

How does one know when someone is poor? The question is difficult to answer because there is no clear dividing line between those in poverty and those out of poverty. Most would agree that poverty is relative in both time and place. Thus, no single standard of poverty transcends temporal and spatial considerations. But insofar as it can be defined, poverty exists "when the resources of families or individuals are inadequate to provide a socially acceptable standard of living" (Johnson, 1966:183). The poor then are those who fail to achieve this standard of living. However, the amount of monetary income necessary to provide such a standard of living is equally difficult to determine because the basic necessities needed to achieve this standard vary from time to time and place to place. Despite these difficulties, an operational definition of poverty has evolved and gained wide popularity as an acceptable measure of poverty. This measure, the dependent variable in this chapter, is based upon methods developed by Orshansky (1965:68) while at the Social Security Administration. The standard is based on a food budget estimated as an "economy food plan for emergency use"; the poverty level is set at three times the amount of the total food budget. In addition, adjustments of family annual incomes were made for the number of persons in the household dependent on the income as their sole means of support and farm/nonfarm occupations of head of household. The poverty income threshold levels used in this study were:

FAMILY SIZE	INCOME (Farm)	INCOME (Nonfarm)
1	$3,250	$3,790
2	4,280	5,010
3	5,310	6,230
4	6,340	7,450
5	7,370	8,670
6	8,400	9,890
OVER 6 MEMBER ADD	$1,030 per person	$1,220 per person

Most of the predictor variables are straightforward and require little explanation:

Race: Black - White
Sex: Male - Female
Age: Current age in years
Education: Highest grade completed in school
Farm status: Farm - Nonfarm, where farm is any place that has $1,000 or more in gross sales of farm products
Number of Children: Actual number of children living in the home or outside of the home

Two exceptions are occupation and marital disruption. The aggregate occupational categories are assigned average Duncan Socioeconomic Index Scores and treated as interval data (see Hauser and Featherman, 1977). As such, the occupational categories along with their associated SEI scores are: professional, technical and kindred worker (72.1); manager or administrator except farm (62.8); sales worker (49.3); clerical or kindred worker (49.3); craftsman or foreman (31.6); operative involved in manufacturing (19.7); transport equipment operative (15.8); laborer except farm (11.8); farmer or farm manager (25.0); farm laborer or farm foreman (16.3), and service worker and private household worker (20.6). Second, marital disruption is used as a dichotomy. One level of this variable refers to previous two-parent family that was literally broken up by the death, separation or divorce of one parent while the other level refers to an intact marital union.

Finally, the interval level variables are found to adhere to the multivariate normal assumptions crucial to discriminant analysis. That is, the scores on the discriminating variables are independently and randomly sampled from a population of scores; the sampling distribution of any linear combination of discriminating variables is normally distributed and is not a function of other discriminating variables; the ranges are not restricted, and there is a linear relationship among all the discriminating variables within each group.

Statistical Methodology

Direct discriminant analysis is used to determine those characteristics which distinguish between rural residents in and out of poverty. The aim of this analysis is to weigh and linearly combine the discriminating variables race, sex of head of household, age, education, occupation, farm status, number of children and marital disruption - in a manner that renders the group as distinct on these measures as possible.

Discriminant analysis provides three types of output that are particularly useful for this investigation. First, it extracts a discriminant function that represents the dimension along which the two groups differ. These discriminant function coefficients, when in standardized form, indicate the relative importance of each predictor variable, analogous to Beta weights in regression analysis.

Second, it extracts within-group structure coefficients, measures that tell us something quite different from the standardized coefficients. The standardized coefficients indicate the variable's contribution to calculating the discriminant score; albeit, it has a serious limitation: "If two variables share nearly the same discriminating information (i.e., if they are highly correlated), they must share their contribution to the score even if that joint contribution is very important" (Klecka, 1980:33). Consequently, the size and/or sign of the standardized coefficient may be affected because it takes into account the simultaneous contributions of all the other variables. The structure coefficients, by contrast, are simple bivariate correlations (between the discriminant function and the variables); consequently, they are not affected by the relationship with the other variables.

The classification of respondents, the third valuable output, is a direct measure of the predictive accuracy of the procedure and confirms the degree of group separation. In other words, once the discriminant function has been extracted, it suggests how well the function correctly classifies the respondents relative to chance prediction. Adhering to a procedure outlined by Hair et al., (1979:94-97) and Tabachnick and Fidell (1983:296-297), the split sample or cross validation approach is used to classify the respondents. That is, the total sample of respondents is randomly divided into two groups; the first group (the analysis sample) is used to derive the discriminant function whereas the second group (the hold-out sample) is used to test the discriminant function. For the regional data, after developing the best weighing equation for the eight predictor variables from the analysis sample (N = 830), the equation was tested on the hold-out sample (N = 834). This procedure eliminates the upward bias that tends to occur in the predictive accuracy of the discriminant function if the individuals used in developing the classification matrix are the same as those used in computing the function or alternatively; it indicates how well the classification function performs with a new sample of cases (Hair et al., 1979:94). A similar procedure was used to derive the discriminant function for each of the ten states. Both the classification accuracy criteria and tau (proportional reduction in error statistic) are used to assess the discriminating ability of the predictor variables.

Finally, it would be remiss not to point out that a quadratic, instead of a linear, discriminant function is used because of the heterogeneity of the variance/co-variance (dispersion) matrices in both the individual state and regional data sets. A linear discriminant function is estimated by pooling the variance/co-variance matrices; however, since the two matrices differ in variability and cannot be pooled, separate matrices are used to extract the discriminant function. This function is termed 'quadratic' and prevents respondents from being overclassified into groups with greater dispersion (see for example, Gilbert, 1967:505-509; Lachenbruch, 1975:46-47; Tabachnick and Fidell, 1983:300-301). Thus, the quadratic function leads to more accurate classification equations and hence, a maximum separation of groups.

The second statistical procedure employed in this Chapter is log-linear analysis. Basically, log-linear analysis is a statistical technique that permits one to fit models, test hypotheses and estimate parameters for categorical, nominal or qualitative data. The procedures produce maximum likelihood estimates of parameters by means of the Newton-Ralphson algorithm (Bishop et. al., 1975:58).

A log-linear model with a dichotomous dependent variable can be treated analogously to multiple regression, with the essential difference being that the independent variables affect not the probability but the odds on the dependent variable (the ratio of poor to nonpoor). Or alternatively, the unit of analysis is not the individual scores but rather cell probabilities or functions of cell probabilities. In regression, for example, Yi is the dependent variable, where i runs from 1 to N, the number of cases. In log-linear analysis; however, the dependent variable is a cell probability, P, the probability that a randomly selected member of a population has a certain combination of characteristics. For an I x J x K population cross-classification, P_{IJK} is the probability that a person has the Ith attribute of the first variable, the Jth attribute of the second variable and the Kth attribute of the third variable. In this analysis, for example, one P_{IJK} is the probability that a person is black, female and has less than a high school education. This set of probabilities (or some function of them) serves as the dependent variable (Reynolds, 1975:56; Knoke and Burke, 1980:8).

The above variations notwithstanding, log-linear analysis is very similar to other model building procedures. The goal is a model or equation that accounts for variation in cell probabilities. The process of finding an adequate model involves several steps; however, in this analysis, two basic steps are employed. First, a saturated, general log-linear model is used in an exploratory fashion to arrive at a model that fits the data; that is, all possible effect parameters are included in the model. This method of log-linear analysis does not distinguish between independent and dependent variables in that all variables are treated as criterion variables, whose mutual associations are explored (Bishop et. al., 1975:11; Knoke and Burke, 1980:11-12). In short, structure is not imposed on the data while at the same time, a particular unsaturated, more parsimonious model with three main effects and an interaction effect is fitted to the data using another approach of log-linear modeling, logit. In a logit model, one variable is chosen as the dependent variable (poverty status). The criterion to be analyzed is the expected odds as a function of the other independent variables-race, sex and education (Knoke and Burke, 1980:11-12).

Finally, using a procedure outlined by Haberman (1978:294), the effect parameters generated by the logit model are transformed to regression-like coefficients. Then, a likelihood-ratio statistic is used to assess the goodness-of-fit.

Results of the Discriminant Analysis

A direct discriminant function analysis was performed on eight sociodemographic variables as predictors of membership in two groups: poor and nonpoor. Of the original 2,580 cases, 447 were dropped from the analysis owing to missing data. Missing data were dispersed over cases and variables, as well as states with no evident patterning on the basis of groupings. Again, an evaluation of assumptions outlined earlier revealed no threat to multivariate analysis.

Table 1 shows the standardized discriminant function coefficients.

The standardized coefficients, measures of the relative importance of the predicator variables, suggest that education and sex contribute the most to determining scores on the function. Occupation, race, farm status, number of children, marital disruption and age follow in order of importance; however, these findings do not hold true for discriminating the rural poor from the rural nonpoor at the state level. First of all, the discriminant function coefficient for education varies considerably among the states, from 0.14 in Georgia to 0.81 in Mississippi. The coefficients for Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia are lower

Table 3-1. Standardized Discriminat Function Coefficients and Within-Group Structure Coefficients for Poverty Status

	Race	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Farm Status	Number of Children	Marital Disruption
				Standardized Coefficients				
Region	.25	-.40	-.03	.50	.31	.19	-.16	-.08
SC	.58	-.41	.11	.50	.11	.33	-.02	-.07
NC	.54	-.10	-.35	.41	.25	.41	.18	-.16
ALA	.31	-.87	-.21	.47	.29	.10	-.41	.67*
MIS	.81	-.38	.07	.81	-.15	.44	-.05	.28
ARK	.59	-.12	-.20	.21	.31	-.07	-.15	-.30
GA	.61	-.20	-.36	.14	.55	-.38	.12	.15
FLA	.52	.20	.08	.39	.13	-.02	-.15	-.61
VA	.08	-.35	-.16	.35	.19	.72	-.08	-.34
TN	.28	-.21	-.31	.26	.38	.28	-.23	.11
KY	-.25	-.31	.14	.63	.46	.41	.36	-.17
				Structure Coefficients				
Region	.49	-.43	-.38	.74	.56	.30	-.38	-.41
SC	.68	-.21*	-.22*	.70	.43	.38	-.31	-.26*
NC	.62	-.09*	-.46	.66	.41	.23*	-.18*	-.35*
ALA	.37	-.25*	-.36	.61	.49	.17*	-.61	-.15
MIS	.47	-.18*	-.36*	.83	.29*	.38	-.27*	-.23*
ARK	.76	-.41	-.40	.55	.45	.07*	-.24*	-.46
GA	.76	-.29*	-.32*	.53	.66	-.01*	-.25*	-.27*
FLA	.78	-.44	-.19*	.56	.49	.17*	-.29*	-.61
VA	.20*	-.42	-.43	.51	.42	.52	-.24*	-.36
TN	.49	-.21*	-.54	.70	.64	.45	-.49	-.08*
KY	-.01*	-.30*	-.10*	.70	.54	.43	-.01*	-.25*

411

*Coefficient failed to achieve Statistical Significance at $p \le 0.001$

than the coefficient for the region; the coefficients for Mississippi and Kentucky are above the region, while the coefficients for Alabama, North Carolina and South Carolina are similar to the region. In general, the relative importance of education is evident in all the states except Arkansas, Georgia and Tennessee. By contrast, the structural coefficients, measures of the similarity between a single variable and the discriminant function, suggest that education is important in all the states. This would imply that education has a moderate-to-high correlation with one or more of the remaining predictor variables, a correlation that tends to attenuate the discriminant loading. Examination of the data reveals that education has a moderate positive correlation with occupation and a moderate inverse correlation with age; this is particularly true for Georgia and Tennessee. Despite these differences among the states, all the coefficients for education have the theoretically expected sign; that is, those persons with a low level of education are more likely to be in poverty than persons with a high level of education.

Occupation, the second social status variable in the model, also makes a large relative contribution to the discriminant score and has a proportionate structure coefficient. The magnitude of discriminant function coefficients fluctuates somewhat among the states, as Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas have coefficients higher than the coefficient for the region; the coefficient for Arkansas is identical to the region, while the coefficients for the remaining states are lower than the coefficient for the region. Unlike the region, however, the relative importance of the discriminant function coefficients for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia is not of corresponding size with the structure coefficients. Again, and as one would expect, a moderate positive correlation ($r = 0.48$) with education probably accounts for attenuating the contribution of occupation to the discriminant score. Nonetheless, the discriminant function coefficients, except for Mississippi, and structure coefficients yield the theoretically expected sign. In other words, persons employed in low-skilled occupations have a greater propensity to be in poverty than persons engaged in high-skilled occupations.

The corresponding sizes of the discriminant function and structure coefficients are not as disparate for race as they were for the two social status variables. Kentucky and Mississippi were exceptions, but the reasons are clear. Less than two percent of the Kentucky sample are black, and in Mississippi, significant correlations exist between race and age and occupation that increased the relative importance of race while concurrently reducing the relative importance of the latter two variables. It should also be pointed out that race is noticeably correlated with education; albeit, the discriminant function and structure coefficients are almost identical. In short, race emerges as an important discriminant between those persons in and out of poverty except in Kentucky and Virginia. Black respondents are more likely to be in poverty than white respondents.

The discriminant function and structure coefficients indicate that poverty is more prevalent among female heads of household than male heads of household. Further, the magnitude of the latter coefficient is commensurate with the relative importance of the former coefficient. Again, state differences are apparent. The size and significance of the structure correlations imply that sex of head of household is not strongly related to the discriminant function except for Arkansas, Florida, Virginia and perhaps, Kentucky. The structure correlations for the remaining states are low but the coefficients for South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi exhibit a higher relative importance than one would expect, whereas Florida has a lower relative coefficient (and a different sign) than one would expect. This is chiefly due to the large observed correlation between sex of head of household and marital disruption. On the average, the Gamma coefficient of correlation between these two variables is 0.90, a value that suggests female heads of household are more likely the result of families that have experienced marital disruption.

The effect of marital disruption on distinguishing between persons above and below the poverty threshold as suggested above is attenuated by its close association with sex of head of household. This attenuation is reflected by the low relative discriminant function coefficient for the region and all the states, save Arkansas, Virginia, Alabama and Florida. The coefficient is large in Alabama because not only is marital disruption correlated strongly with sex, but also it is correlated appreciably with race, education and number of children. Contrariwise, the coefficient is relatively large in Florida because it is adjusting for the low relative importance and incorrect sign of sex of head of household. In general though, and as expressed by the structure coefficient, families that have been affected by divorce, separation or the death of a spouse have a greater tendency to be in poverty than families that have remained in tact.

Similar to marital disruption, age and number of children have low relative discriminant function coefficients and moderate structure coefficients. Age is not contributing sufficiently to the discrimination because of its concomitant variation with education. In general, education is making a large positive correlation to the discriminant score while age is making a small-to-moderate negative contribution, a relationship that tends to reduce their discriminant loadings. This appears to be the case in all the states except Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. The relative importance of the number of children is higher than the relative importance of age, though both variables have identical structure coefficients because the former is not as empirically correlated with the remaining discriminating variables. In short, these variables do have the theoretically expected sign; that is, poverty is more prevalent among older persons and families with a large number of children.

Finally, farm status has a low structure correlation and a corresponding low discriminant function coefficient. However, the latter is higher than one would expect for Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. An inspection of the data reveal that the correlation between farm status and occupation in these states reduces the relative importance of the latter variable's contribution to the discriminant score while at the same time, inflates the relative importance of farm status. In general, persons engaged in farm occupations are more likely to be in poverty than persons not engaged in farm occupations except in Georgia.

Pursuant to the above, an aggregate profile of a rural poor head of household is more likely to be a poorly educated, semi-skilled female, black farm resident who tends to be old, have a large number of children and have undergone marital disruption. Support for this profile is given by the summary statistics of the discriminant equations. On the average, Wilk's lambda (0.70) and the canonical correlation (0.50) suggest that discriminatory power exists among the eight variables as manifested by the statistical significance of these two measures.

The second panel of Table 2 indicates that the discriminant equation is able to correctly classify seventy-six percent of the respondents. A comparison of this percentage with one by chance, proportional chance criterion, indicates that the discriminant function correctly classified a significant number of respondents, forty-six percent higher than one would expect to occur by chance (52.1%) and about eleven percent higher than the accuracy criterion. As expected, state differences are evident as the discriminant equations for Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee fail to correctly classify a significant number of cases in the hold-out sample.

Finally, another measure of the predictive accuracy of the discriminant function is Tau (Klecka, 1980:51). Tau is a proportional reduction in error statistic that serves as a standardized measure of improvment[2]. Based on the eight-variale discriminant model for the region, the value of tau is 0.53. That is, the model made about 53.0 percent fewer errors than one would expect by random assignment. Upon examining the data for the individual states, it is found that the discriminant model performs well for Florida, North and South Carolina and Arkansas. It performs poorly on the Kentucky data and adequately for the remaining states.

Table 3-2. Summary Statistics and Classification Results of Discriminant Equation

	Summary Statistics		
	Canonical Correlation	Wilk's Lambda	Significance of Lambda
Region	.50	.70	.0001
SC	.67	.56	.0001
NC	.58	.66	.0001
ALA	.67	.55	.0001
MIS	.59	.65	.0001
ARK	.60	.64	.0001
GA	.48	.77	.0007
FLA	.70	.70	.0001
VA	.65	.57	.0001
TEN	.48	.77	.0001
KEN	.60	.60	.0001

	Classification Results		
	Classtifcation Accuracy Criteria	Percent of Casses Correctly Classified	Tau
Region	65.28	76.06	.53
SC	64.27	79.45	.59
NC	63.01	76.74	.66
ALA	63.59	74.53	.49
MIS	62.56	72.82	.46
ARK	62.58	77.36	.55
GA	74.27	73.58*	.47
FLA	64.13	83.87	.68
VA	83.92	75.68*	.51
TEN	83.53	71.00*	.44
KEN	62.56	66.67	.33

*Discriminant function failed to correctly classify a significant number of cases.

Results of Log-Linear Analysis

A logit log-linear analysis was performed on three socio-demographic variables that exhibited the largest relative contributions to scores on the discriminant function, education, sex and race. Race is used instead of occupation because the latter is closely connected to education and too, the difference between the magnitude of the standardized discriminant function and structure coefficients between these two variables was negligible.

Initially, a saturated, general log-linear analysis was performed on the above three variables to determine the appropriate structure of the data. That is, this model contains as many independent parameters as there are cells in the table. This technique is useful for reducing the complexity of the data or arriving at simple structure, provided the effect parameters can be readily or meaningfully interpreted.

The results of this analysis suggested a more parsimonious model that includes the main effects of education, sex and race along with a race-education interaction component. The model is of the form:

$$L_N(F_{ijk1}/F_{ijk2}) = B + B_i^E + B_j^S + B_k^R + B_{ik}^{ER}$$

where, F = an expected frequency
B = effect coefficient
E = education
S = sex
R = race
ER = education - race interaction

To evaluate this model in terms of odds rather than by log odds, the analogous multiplicative model is of the form:

$$(F_{ijk1}/F_{ijk2}) = B \cdot B_i^E \cdot B_j^S \cdot B_k^R \cdot B_{ik}^{ER}$$

The above model is tested by using the logit approach to log linear analysis and the results of the maximum liklihood estimates are provided in Table 3.

The coefficients for the main effects are statistically significant in the expected direction, while the education-race interaction term barely achieves statistical significance. Antilogs are used to convert the log linear co-efficients to anologous regression coefficients. In terms of importance, education with a coefficient of 2.4, is found to be the most influential, followed by sex, race and the interaction term.

Table 3-3. Estimated Coefficients for the Three-Variable Logit Model

Term	Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta*
Race	.26	.03	1.68
Sex	.28	.03	1.77
Education	.44	.03	2.40
Race by Education	-.06	.03	0.88
Mean (B)	-.13	.03	0.77

*Regression analogous coefficient; all the coefficients are statistically significant at 0.05.

Based on the estimated equation, the odds of a person with less than a high school education being in poverty, ceteris paribus, are 2.4:1. That is, the net effect of having less than a high school education vs. having twelve or more years of education on being in poverty is nearly two and one-half times greater[3]. The coefficient 1.77 indicate the net effect of being male vs. female in terms of poverty status. Other things equal, females are more likely to be below the poverty threshold by 1.77 to 1. The odds of a black respondent being poor are 1.68:1. In addition, the interaction effect between education and race is negative. This means that the effect of being a black person with less than a high school education is less positive than is indicated by combining the main effect of being a black person with the main effect of having less than a high school education.

Finally, the likelihood ratio Chi square (1.28: p = 0.73) suggests that the model adequately accounts for the poverty status of the regional sample.

Conclusions and Discussion

The point at issue in this Chapter has been to test eight socio-demographic variables as predictors of rural poverty. Discriminant analysis and log-linear analysis were used to examine the data in a vigorous fashion. The results were supportive of previous studies as education, sex, race, occupation, number of children, farm status, age and marital disruption were found to distinguish rural residents in and out of poverty. The composite portrayal of a rural poor head of household was a poorly educated, semi-skilled, female, black farm resident who tended to be old, have a large number of children and have experienced marital disruption. Albeit, age and marital disruption did not contribute sufficiently (although statistically significant) to the separation of the two groups. With the exception of perhaps, marital disruption and a large number of children, persons who share characteristics of this profile are clearly the basis of former Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition."

The aggregate profile of a poor person in the individual states was similar to the region as expressed by the high degree of correlation between their structure coefficients. To be specific, Pearson product-moment correlations between the region and the states were:

MIS = 0.73
SC = 0.71
GA = 0.70
NC = 0.68
ALA = 0.62
ARK = 0.61
KEN = 0.60
FLA = 0.56
TEN = 0.53
VA = 0.18

Thus, a correlation of the zero-order associations (between the discriminant function and the variables) between the region and the states, except Virginia, suggested moderate-to-high similarity. The standardized discriminant coefficients, by contrast, indicated considerable variation among the states in terms of the relative importance of the variables in determining scores on the discriminants function. As stated earlier, this occurs when two or more variables share the same discriminating information; they must share their contribution to the score even if that joint distribution is very important. This prompted Klecka (1980:34) to state "The perverse tendency of such situations to arise in discriminant analysis implies that the structure coefficients are a better guide to the meaning of the canonical discriminant functions than the meaning of the coefficients are". Further, the canonical correlations and Wilk's lambda for the eleven equations suggested that the eight-variable discriminant model did demonstrate discriminatory power in separating persons above and below the poverty threshold. Relatedly, the discriminant equations generated by the analysis sample were able to correctly classify a significant number of respondents in the hold-out sample except for Georgia, Tenessee and Virgina. Values of Tau, another measure of the predictive accuracy of the discriminant function, suggested, in general, that the discriminant function made 53 percent fewer errors than one would expect by random assignment.

In a corollary way, the results of the log linear analysis lended support to the findings of the discriminant analysis. That is, the latter model revealed that blacks, females and persons with a low level of education had a greater likeihood of being in poverty while the former model indicated that the odds of being in poverty for blacks, females and persons with less than a high school education are respectively 1.7 to 1, 1.8 to 1 and 2.4 to 1. Further, the logit model was shown to fit the data adequately.

As expected, groups that historically have experienced social structural shortcomings such as prejudice, discrimination and exploitation, particularly minorities and women, are disproportionately below the poverty threshold, regardless of how it is defined. Likewise, disproportionate representation in the liminal levels of poverty include those who typically cannot, through their own efforts, escape poverty, i.e., the elderly, as well as those adversely affected by situational factors such as not having an opportunity to attain a quality education, or acquire a job that pays more than the minimum wage or seek renumerative employment. To say that differentials of poverty persist is to state the obvious; albeit, to say that these differentials can be isolated is not so obvious. The difficulty of isolating these differentials is manifested empirically and most succinctly by the size of the discriminant function co-efficients relative to their corresponding structure coefficients. Based on this analysis, solutions to poverty will be difficult given the sharp budget cuts set in motion by the government's recent concern with enormous budget deficits, current emphasis on supply-side economics, the requirements of the present-day non-labor intensive 'high tech' job market together with the federal cutbacks in financial aid to institutions of higher education, social programs and affirmative action and equal opportunity programs. We hardly need to be reminded that the anti-poverty programs in the '60's are no longer with us chronologically or in terms of federal support. Thus, a concerted effort by local and state agencies in area of postsecondary education, job opportunities and manpower training, reduction of wage disparity between men and women and blacks and whites, along with the removal of other structural or situational barriers to social mobility, are critically needed to help the rural populace raise their standards of living above the poverty threshold.

NOTES

1. The formula for the proportional chance criterion is:

$$C \text{ proportional} = p^2 + (1-p)^2$$

Where:

p = the proportion of individuals in group one; and
l-p = the proportion of individuals in group two.

Therefore, for the region:

$$(.6054)^2 + (1 - .6054)^2 = 52.22\%$$

The classification accuracy should be, as a convention, 25 percent greater than by chance; therefore, 25(52.22) + 52.22 = 65.28.

2. Tau has the following mathematical form:

$$\text{tau} \; \frac{n_c - \overset{g}{\underset{i=1}{E}} p_i n_i}{n. \; \overset{g}{\underset{i=1}{E}} p_i n_i}$$

Where:

nc = the number of cases correctly classified;
pl = the prior probability of group membership;
nl = the number of groups; and
n. = the total number of cases.

The prior probability of group membership is 0.50; therefore, for the region:

$$\text{tau} = \frac{823 - [(.50 \text{ x } 655) + (.50 \text{ x } 427)]}{1082 - [(.50 \text{ x } 655) + (.50 \text{ x } 427)]}$$

3. For the log-linear analysis, education is used as a dichotomy, 0-11 years of school completed vs. 12+ years of school completed.

REFERENCES

Allen, Vernon L.
1970 "Theoretical Issues in Poverty Research." Journal of Social Issues 26 Spring):149-167.

Beeghley, Leonard.
1983 Living Poorly in America. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Billings, Dwight.
1974 "Culture and Poverty in Appalachia: A Theoretical Discussion and Empirical Analysis." Social Forces 53 (December): 315-323.

Bishop, Yvonne M., Stephen E. Fienberg and Paul W. Holland.
1975 Discrete Multivariate Analysis: Theory and Practice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Bould, Sally.
1977 "Rural Poverty and Economic Development: Lessons from the War on Poverty." Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences 13 (Oct-Dec): 471-488.

Bouvier, Leon and Everett S. Lee.
1972 The Bearing of Children. The Center for Information on America.

Burchinal, Lee G. and Hilda Siff.
1964 "Rural Poverty." Journal of Marriage and the Family 26 (November): 399-405.

Chadwick, Bruce A. and Howard M. Bahr.
1973 "Rural Poverty.: pp. 182-195 in Thomas R. Ford (ed.) Rural USA: Persistence and Change. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Coppedge, Robert O. and Calton G. Davis.
1977 Rural Poverty and the Policy Crisis. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Daft, Lynn M.
1980 "The Rural Poverty Commission: Ten Years Later." Rural Development Perspectives (March):4-6.

Espenshade, Thomas J.
1979 "The Economic Consequences of Divorce." Journal of Marriage and the Family 41 (August):615-625.

Fitchen, Janet M.
1981 Poverty in Rural America. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

Gans, Herbert J.
1972 "The Positive Functions of Poverty." American Journal of Sociology 78 (September):275-289.

Gilbert, Ethel S.
1969 "The Effect of Unequal Variance-Covariance Matrices on Fisher's Linear Discriminant Function." Biometrics 25 (September):505-516.

Haberman, Shelby J.
1978 Analysis of Qualitative Data. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Hair, Joseph F., Jr., Ralph E. Anderson, Ronald L. Tatum, and Bernie J. Grablowsky.

1979 Multivariate Data Analysis. Tulsa, Oklahoma: Petroleum Publishing Company.

Harrington, Michael.

1962 The Other America: Poverty in the United States. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.

Hassinger, Edward W.

1978 The Rural Component of American Society. Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc.

Hauser, Robert M. and David L. Featherman

1977 The Process of Stratification: Trends and Analyses. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Herr, William M. D.

1968 "Credit and Farm Poverty." pp. 522-541 in Rural Poverty in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Hoffman, Saul.

1977 "Marital Instability and the Economic Status of Women." Demography 14 (February):67-76.

Hoppe, Bob.

1980 "Despite Progress, Rural Poverty Demands Attention." Rural Development Perspectives (March):7-ll.

Horton, Paul B. and Gerald R. Leslie.

1978 The Sociology of Social Problems. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Johnson, Harry.

1966 "Unemployment and Poverty." pp. 182-199 in Leo Fishman (editor) Poverty Amid Affluence. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Klecka, William R.

1980 Discriminant Analysis. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Knoke, David and Peter J. Burke.

1980 Log-Linear Models. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Kreps, Juanita M.

1963 "Rural Poverty: The Special Case of the Age." pp. 40-50 in Rural Poverty in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Lachenbruch, Peter A.

1975 Discriminant Analysis. New York: Hafner Press.

Leacock, Eleanor B.

1971 The Culture of Poverty: A Critique. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Levitan, Sar A.
1969 The Great Society's Poor Low: A New Approach to Poverty. Baltimore: The Johns-Hopkins Press.

Lewis, Oscar.
1959 Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Lewis, Oscar.
1966 "The Culture of Poverty." Scientific American 215 (October): 19-25.

McKee, Michael and Ian Robertson.
1975 Social Problems. New York: Random House, Inc.

Merton, Robert K.
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Miller, S. M.
1970 "Poverty Research In the Seventies." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Spring):169-173.

Morgan, James W.
1974 "Change in Global Measures." pp. 11-98 in James N. Morgan, Katherine Dickinson, Johnathan Dickinson, Jacob Benus and Grey Duncan (eds), Five Thousand American Families - Patterns of Economic Progress. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan.

Morrill, Richard L. and Ernest H. Wohlenberg.
1971 The Geography of Poverty in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Osmond, Marie W. and Charles M. Grigg.
1978 "Correlates of Poverty: The Interaction of Individual and Family Characteristics." Social Forces 56 (June): 1099-1120.

Orshansky, Mollie.
1965 "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile." Social Security Bulletin 28:3-29.

Perlman, Richard.
1976 The Economics of Poverty. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Reynolds, H. T.
1977 Analysis of Nominal Data. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Rodgers, Harrell R.
1982 The Cost of Human Neglect. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Rodgers, Harrell R.
1979 Poverty Amid Plenty. Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley.
Rodman, Hyman.
1963 "The Lower Class Value Stretch." Social Forces 42 (December): 205-215.
Rogers, Everett M. and Rabel J. Burdge.
1972 Social Change in Rural Societies. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Schiller, Bradley R.
1973 The Economics of Poverty and Discrimination. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Stringfellow, William.
1966 "The Representation of the Poor in American Society." pp. 142-151 in Robin O. Everett (ed), Anti-Poverty Programs. Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.
Tabachnick, Barbara G. and Linda S. Fidell.
1983 Using Multivariate Statistics. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.
Talmadge, Herman E.
1977 "Whatever Happened to the Small Farmer?" Journal of the Institute of Socioeconomic Studies 2 (Autumn):1-8.
Thompson, Alton, Betty J. Traub and Randell P. White.
1984 "Socio-Demographic Predictors of Rural Poverty: A Regional Analysis." Southern Rural Sociology 1:76-96.
Thurow, Lester C.
1967 "Causes of Poverty." Quarterly Journal of Economics 81 (February): 39-57.
Thurow, Lester.
1969 Poverty and Racial Discrimination. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution.
Tien, H. Yuan.
1961 "The Social Mobility/Fertility Hypothesis Reconsidered: An Empirical Study." American Sociological Review 26 (April): 159-166.
Valentine, Charles A.
1963 Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.
Weitzman, Lenore J.
1981 "The Economics of Divorce: Social and Economic Consequences of Property, Alimony and Child Support Awards." UCLA Law Review 28 (April):1181-1268.

White, Randall P., Harold G. Willis and Albertine Banks.
1981 "An Analysis of Wage Gains in the South: A Panel Study of 68,000 Workers, 1965-1975." The Proceeding of the Rural Sociology Section, Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists.

Chapter 4

Race Differentials in Perceived Employment Barriers in the Rural South

Woong K. Cho

ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades the rural South has undergone a drastic transformation from its agricultural concentration to a broader based economy of manufacturing, trade, and services as well as agriculture. But the benefits of increasing diversified non-farm employment opportunities are not evenly distributed between blacks and whites. In this Chapter possible causes of the uneven distribution of employment opportunities between blacks and whites are examined and discussed in terms of racial differentials in the perceived seriousness of six selected prelabor market problem areas. Data collected from a region-wide questionnaire survey (N = 2,574) are analyzed to test the hypothesis that in the rural South blacks remain severely more disadvantaged than whites in regard to certain prelabor market problems. Supporting the hypothesis, findings indicate that blacks are more likely to be affected than whites by such problems as racial discrimination, lack of transportation, lack of job information, lack of the right contacts, and lack of education or skills. Limited job opportunities are perceived almost equally by blacks and whites as one of the most serious problems in securing employment in their community.

Introduction

Over the past two decades the rural South has been undergoing a drastic transformation from its agricultural concentration to a broader based economy of manufacturing, trade and services as well as agriculture (Marshall, 1974). However, the benefits of increasing diversified nonfarm employment opportunities are unevenly dispersed and are disproportionately distributed between blacks and whites. In fact, many low-income areas of the rural South remain severely affected by widespread and chronic problems of unemployment, underemployment,and low wages (Carter, 1982). These problems are particularly severe among blacks in these areas. Especially serious is the situation wherein rural low income areas heavily inhabited by blacks have almost always been by-passed by new rural industries (Hansen, 1973; Till, 1972).

Such a severe imbalance between the participation of blacks and whites in the labor force in the rural South has been the focus of several socio-economic studies (Mandle, 1978; Marshall, 1974; Welch, 1967). Masters (1975), Jencks and others (1972), and Gordon (1972) in their research claim that the major source of socio-economic inequality between blacks and whites is the race differential in labor market experiences. In a broad sense, the concept of labor market experience is two dimensional: prelabor market and labor market experiences(Duncan, 1969; Kluegel, 1978; Masters, 1975). Prelabor market experiences include education, acquired skill, and other factors conducive to one's gainful employment. In view of this concept the inadequate participation of blacks in the labor market may be partially explained by race differentials in prelabor market experiences.

In this Chapter the focus is primarily on identifying and examining the type and effects of prelabor market problems which attribute to race differentials affecting employability in the southern rural labor markets. Studies have revealed the prejudice, discrimination, and certain socioeconomic conditions have resulted in southern rural blacks being more disadvantaged than whites in prelabor market experiences (Durant and Knowlton, 1978; Fratoe, 1980). However, certain important prelabor market conditions such as lack of accessibility to job information, lack of transportation, social isolation, and joblessness have been largely overlooked in empirical investigations. It is important to examine race differences in regard to these problems to see how they affect blacks and whites in their attempt to secure employment. Such an examination is also desirable because there are reasons for believing that race differentials in regard to prelabor market problems represent one of the most serious and persistent sources of black and white socioeconomic inequality in the South.

In recent years, racial discrimination has been reduced, though not eliminated, in the areas of educational attainment, white collar occupations, the quality of school attended, economic returns from schooling, earnings, and in the number of elected offices held (Farley, 1983; Freeman, 1976, 1973). Nevertheless, there are still considerable variations between blacks and whites in the rural South in terms of socioeconomic status (Mandle, 1978; Marshall, 1974). In view of the above, it is hypothesized that in the rural South blacks remain severely more disadvantaged than their white counterparts in regard to prelabor market problems which affect their employability in their community. In order to test this hypothesis the extent of the seriousness of the problems as perceived by blacks and whites at the point of hiring has been measured and examined. Race differences in the perceived seriousness of selected problems are analyzed. These problems included joblessness, lack of right contacts, lack of education and skills, lack of job information, lack of transportation, and racial discimination. Finally, an examination is made of the importance of race differences in regard to prelabor market problems in order to account for the employment dilemmas confronting the black labor force in the rural South.

Method

Data were collected from 2,554 heads of households (38% black and 62% white). They were asked to respond to the following statement:

> I am going to read some statements to you about problems in securing employment. After each statement, please tell me whether you think this represents a "serious problem," is "somewhat a problem," or is "not a problem" in securing employment in your community:
>
> 1. Discrimination by race
> 2. Limited job opportunities
> 3. Lack of transportation
> 4. Not enough training or education to get a good job
> 5. Knowing where to look for a job
> 6. Knowing the right people

In the following analysis race differences are examined in regard to the foregoing six prelabor market problems. First, the extent of each of the six problems as perceived by southern rural people is discussed. Second, a comparison is made between the responses of blacks and whites regarding their perceptions of the seriousness of each problem in relation to employability. Data for this comparative measurement are presented in 2 by 3 percentage contingency tables for the six problem areas. To test association, standard Chi square analysis is employed; to identify significant associations at the .001 alpha level, gamma is used.

Results and Discussion

Of the six problems as shown in Table 1, the problem of "limited job opportunities" was most frequently mentioned as a serious problem. More than half of the respondents (53.7%) believed that job shortage was the major barrier in securing employment in their community, while more than one-third of them (34.1%) felt this was "somewhat a problem." On the contrary, only 12% of them said that "limited job opportunities" was not a problem. The second most serious prelabor market problem appeared to be the lack of right contacts needed to be employed. Thirty-six percent of the respondents expressed that "not knowing the right people" was a serious problem in finding a job, while almost 42% of them considered it as "somewhat a problem." In the case of the lack of education or skills, 35% of the respondents indicated that they could not find work because of lack of adequate education or experience. More than forty percent of them felt that this was "somewhat a problem." Nearly one quarter of the respondents (24.3%) expressed that not knowing where to look for a job was a "serious problem," while almost one half of them (47%) felt it was "somewhat a problem."

Table 4-1. Perceived Seriousness of Selected Prelabor Market Problems in Securing Employment in the Rural South

Prelabor Market Problem	Serious Problem		Somewhat a Problem		Not a Problem		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Discrimination by Race	415	16.6	808	32.4	1272	51.0	2496	100
Limited Job Opportunities	1341	53.7	850	34.1	305	12.2	2495	100
Insufficient Training or Education	861	34.6	1093	43.9	536	21.5	2490	100
Knowing the Right People	897	36.0	1041	41.7	555	22.3	2493	100
Knowing Where to Look for a Job	604	24.3	1170	47.0	7.13	28.7	2487	100
Lack of Transportation	483	19.4	819	32.8	1193	47.8	2495	100

Other prelabor market problems seriously detrimental to some rural people included lack of transportation, and discrimination by race. In thinly populated areas of the rural South the availability of transportation is crucial in obtaining and holding nonfarm jobs. As shown in Table l, 19% of the respondents expressed that lack of transportation was a "serious problem" in finding employment; 33% of them felt it was "somewhat a problem", and 47.8% of them indicated that "lack of transportation" was not a problem. Seventeen percent of the respondents believed that racial discrimination at the point of hiring was a "serious problem"; 32% of them felt this was "somewhat a problem", and 51% of them expressed that discrimination was "not a problem."

In the rural South, a considerable number of people face a variety of serious prelabor market problems affecting their employability. These include limited job opportunities, lack of education, lack of right contacts, not knowing where to look for a job, lack of transportation, and racial discrimination. The question arises: are these problems proportionately affecting blacks and whites in the rural South? In other words, are there differences due to race in regard to these prelabor market problems. And if so, what are these differences? It was hypothesized that blacks are more disadvantaged than whites in prelabor market problems. That the data support this hypothesis is shown in Table 2. Blacks and whites differed significantly in every prelabor market problem except in regard to the one of inadequate job opportunities. In relation to this problem no siginificant racial differential was found (p = n.s., gamma = .02). This indicates that the rural South has a serious shortage of employment opportunities affecting relatively large numbers of people regardless of race.

In regard to the other five, there were significant differences between blacks and whites. The largest difference between blacks and whites appeared in the problem of racial discrimination (p .001, gamma = .62), as shown in Table 2. It suggests that there is still a sharp divergence between blacks and whites in the rural South on the question of how much progress has been made in ending institutional discrimination in employment practices. Almost two-thirds of the white respondents (64.4%) believed that discrimination by race in hiring was no longer a problem, but less than one-third of the black respondents (28%) felt this to be the case. On the other hand, almost one out of three blacks (31.9%) believed that racial discrimination was serious problem in hiring practices, while only about 7% of the whites believed this to be the case. One reason for such a large discrepancy in the perceptions of blacks and whites may be that blacks through their own experiences are more keenly aware of institutional discrimination against themselves in hiring.

As shown in Table 2, the second largest race differential existed in the problem of lack of transportation (p .001, gamma = .44). Thirty-one percent of blacks perceived a serious problem in obtaining the transportation needed to find a job, while only 12% of whites perceived

Table 4-2. Race Differentials in the Perceived Seriousness of Selected Prelabor Market Problems in Securing Employment in the Rural South

Prelabor Market Problems	Race (N)	Seriousness of Problems (%)			
		Serious Problem	Somewhat Problem	Not a Problem	Chi-Square & gamma
Discrimination by Race	Black (946)	31.9	39.7	28.3	$x^2 = 389.89$, p .001 g= .62
	White (1547)	7.3	28.1	64.6	
Limited Job Opportunities	Black (945)	54.6	32.6	12.8	$x^2 = 1.71$, n.s g= .02
	White (1549)	52.8	35.1	12.1	
Insufficient Training or Education	Black (940)	39.9	42.1	18.0	$x^2 = 23.73$, p .001 g= .17
	White (1547)	31.1	45.1	23.8	
Knowing the Right People	Black (941)	42.3	40.1	17.6	$x^2 = 31.32$, p .001 g= .19
	White (1552)	32.2	43.0	24.8	
Knowing Where to go	Black (942)	34.8	43.4	21.8	$x^2 = 101.37$, p .001 g= .32
	White (1544)	17.7	49.2	33.1	
Lack of Transportation	Black (944)	31.4	35.5	33.2	$x^2 = 183.62$, p .001 g= .44
	White (1550)	12.1	31.1	56.8	

this to be a problem. Nearly 36% of the blacks and 31% of the whites had somewhat of a problem in obtaining transportation. In short, approximately one-third of rural people have little or no access to the transportation essential for finding and holding a job.

The third largest race differential in terms of prelabor market experiences seems to be related to obtaining job information (p .001, gamma = .32). It appears that government programs to improve employment situations are not adequately delivered to rural people in the south, particularly in the low-income areas. As suspected, ignorance or lack of adequate knowledge of labor market information was more prevalent among rural blacks than whites. As indicated in Table 2, 35% of the blacks said that not knowing where to look for a job was serious problem, while only about 18% of the whites felt this to be the case. In addition, almost half the blacks (43.4%) as well as whites (49.2%) felt that lack of adequate knowledge about labor market opportunities was somewhat of a problem. In view of the situation that there were few opportunities for gainful employment, such a magnitude of people's ignorance about job market opportunities was not surprising.

On the other hand, somewhat moderate race differentials, even though statistically significant, emerged in the problem of knowing the right people (p .001, gamma = .19) and in the problem of having insufficient education or training (p .001, gamma = .17). As discussed earlier, the problem of not knowing the right people or contacts was the second most serious problem among southern rural people in general. However, this difference between blacks and whites was not as extensive as that in regard to racial discrimination, lack of transportation, and lack of job information. The actual difference between blacks (42.3%) and whites (32.2%) was about 10% in terms of their perception of the seriousness of this problem. This may indicate that regardless of race many rural people in the South are so socially isolated or politically inactive that they have few or none of the contacts needed to find a job in their community.

The difference between blacks and whites with respect to lack of education or training was almost as large as that for not knowing the right people (p = .001, gamma = .17). As shown in Table 1, this problem was the second most serious problem in the Southern rural prelabor market experiences examined here. The race differential in regard to the education or training problem as hindrance to employability was very moderate. The actual difference between blacks (39.9%) and whites (31.1%) was about 9% in terms of their perception of the seriousness of this problem. One explanation for the moderate race differential may be the steady improvement made by the blacks in education in recent decades. However, it is evident that in the perceptions of many rural people, their overall educational attainments are not adequate or sufficient to obtain gainful employment in communities.

Based on the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that the degree of race difference varies from one prelabor market problem to another. Of the six problems examined, race discrimination in hiring was perceived most differently between blacks and whites, followed in descending order by lack of transportation, lack of job information, not knowing the right people, lack of education or training, and limited job opportunities. In the rural South, the severe job shortage problem affects both blacks and whites almost equally. However, in other prelabor market problems blacks are disproportionately disadvantaged. Thus, it is no surprise to find much higher rates of unemployment and underemployment among blacks than whites in the low-income areas of the rural South.

Conclusion

In this analysis, primary consideration was given to race differences in selected prelabor market problems affecting employability in low-income areas of the rural South. The data show that blacks and whites differ significantly in regard to several prelabor market problems. Compared to whites, blacks are more affected by discrimination, lack of transportation, and lack of job information at the point of securing employment in their community. In addition, more than 80% of blacks express that joblessness, lack of education or skills, and lack of right contacts for a job were hampering them in varying degrees in finding adequate employment. It is equally evident that a considerably large number of whites were also affected by these prelabor market problems. However, as hypothesized, data clearly show that blacks are more likly to be disadvantaged than whites in the rural South in every prelabor market problem examined here except in the problem area of limited job opportunties.

These findings have important implications for public policy. The active participation of government is essential in helping the structurally unemployed and underemployed, particularly blacks, to enter the labor market for selfsupport and exit from poverty. First, however, the federal government should initiate a thorough reevaluation of on-going self-help programs to determine their effectiveness in low-income areas of the South. As revealed by the findings reported here, there is little evidence demonstrating that, in the low-income rural areas of the South, the employable poor, particularly poor blacks, have benefited from the government's employment and training programs. Therefore, it seems important that while continuing the on-going self-help programs, the federal government in cooperation with state and local governments develops additional self-help programs in response to the needs of a specific geographical area and population group.

As demonstrated in the analysis of the data, a large number of the hardcore employable poor in the low-income rural areas of the South have almost insurmountable types of prelabor market disadvantages to overcome in order to obtain gainful employment in nonfarm work. In other words, all of the major prelabor market problems affecting a large number of the rural people can not be easily resolved in the near future. However, they will become less problematic if some types of gainful employment becomes available for all ablebodied poor in the rural South. "Gainful employment is much more than a livelihood for individuals and an economic base for communities" (Tweeten, 1982 175). Realistically speaking, it is almost impossible to generate a sufficient number of nonfarm jobs for the unemployed or underemployed rural people in the South. Therefore, future research should be directed toward exploring effective ways to develop farm-related jobs which can provide gainful employment and an adequate standard of living for the employable rural poor, who otherwise continue to remain unemployed and in poverty as a result of the prelabor market problems observed here.

REFERENCES

Carter, Keith A.
1982 "Inadequacies of the Traditional Labor Force for Rural Areas: A Labor Utilization Framework Applied to Survey Data." Rural Sociology 47 (Fall): 459-74.

Duncan, O. D.
1969 "Inheritance of Poverty or Inheritance of Race?" in Dr. D. P. Moynihan (ed.), On Understanding Poverty. New York: Basic Books.

Durant, Thomas J., Jr. and Clark S. Knowlton
1978 "Rural Ethnic Minorities: Adaptive Response to Inequality." in Thomas R. Ford (ed.), Rural U. S. A.: Persistence and Change. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Farley, Reynolds
1983 Catching Up: Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Blacks. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Fratoe, Frank A.
1980 The Education of Nonmetro Blacks. Washington D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Rural Development Research Report 21.

Freeman, Richard B.
1976 The Black Elite. New York: McGraw-Hill.
1973 "Changes in the Labor Market for Black Americans, 1948-1972." Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 1:67-120.

Gordon, D. M.
1972 Theories of Poverty and Underemployment. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.

Hansen, Niles M.
1973 The Future of Nonmetropolitan American. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.

Jencks, C.; M. Smith; H. Acland; M. Bane; D. Cohen; H. Gintis; B. Herns,and S. Michelson
1972 Inequality. New York: Basic Books.

Kluegel, James R.
1978 "The Causes and Cost of Racial Exclusion from Job Authority." American Sociological Review 43 (June): 285:301.

Mandle, J. R.
1978 The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy after the Civil War. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press.

Marshall, Ray
1974 Rural Workers in Rural Labor Markets. Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Publishing Company.

Masters, S. H.
1975 Black-White Income Differentials. New York: Academic Press.

Till, Thomas E.
1972 "Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960's: Patterns of Labor Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets and Their Impact on Rural Poverty." Austin: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources.

Tweeten, Luther
1982 "Employment." in Dillman and Hobbs (eds.), Rural Society in the U.S.: Issues for the 1980's. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Welch, Finis
1967 "Labor Market Discrimination: An Interpretation of Income Differences in the Rural South." The Journal of Political Economy 75 (June): 225-240.

Chapter 5

Societal Influences on Poverty

Levi Jones

ABSTRACT

Many causes of poverty reside in the social, political, and economic sectors of society and not necessarily in the individual. Discrimination by race tends to account for a large percentage of the incidents of poverty among blacks. The notion of non-government involvement in the economic system or a laissez-faire approach in terms of creating jobs for the jobless contributes to the poverty within society. The economic system has not generated a sufficient number of jobs for the job seekers. There are many people in poverty who want to work but who cannot find jobs. There are strong socioeconomic forces and historical beliefs operating in society that: (a) perpetuate a lack of cooperation between government and private enterprise to create employment opportunities for those seeking work and (b) maintain discrimination and subsistence level welfare programs impacting negatively on the high rate of poverty within the society. The elimination of poverty resulting from socioeconomic forces and historic beliefs is more difficult to eliminate than is poverty resulting from attributes of the individual. Poverty that is perpetuated by historical beliefs and values is not only difficult to eliminate but is oftentime misunderstood and inaccurately discussed; consequently, inadequate solutions are proposed. To eliminate poverty that is precipitated by racial discrimination and lack of job opportunities in the economy, the federal government in conjunction with private enterprise needs to: (a) develop and maintain strong affirmative action programs to eliminate racism in the market place, and (b) provide meaningful and gainful employment for those seeking employment, especially in depressed areas.

Introduction: Poverty Within the Society

Wealth and poverty have been an integral part of the American society since its inception (Lens 1969). Over the generations poverty amid plenty has been rationalized and justified as a reflection of deficiency in the character of the individuals in poverty. Logically this assumption presupposes that if the individuals who are poor eradicate their character deficiencies, they would escape poverty, consequently, creating a society without poverty. This position illogically omits the demand for labor within the market place. However, a paucity of writers, such as Tussing (1975), question this simplistic premise and suggest that . . . "most of the causes of poverty lie in the social and economic system as a whole, and not in the characteristics of the poor" (p.viii). If there are forces operating within the society that influence or cause poverty, are these forces identifiable and quantifiable? Are they subject to manipulation and elimination from the society? Are the forces perpetuated through generations, and are they impacting all sectors of the society, rural and urban?

To pursue answers to these types of questions, the American society must be so conceptualized that the causal factors of poverty can be analyzed or at least defined. Merrill's *Society and Culture* provides excellent insights. He states that "the essence of society is social interaction, which refers to human beings in meaningful reciprocal activities" (p.vii). Social interaction produces culture, according to Merrill, which is learned behavior. Culture is the product of past interaction and at the same time channels present and future interactions. E. B. Tylor's classic definition of social heritage or culture is useful because of its specificity. Tylor observed that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871). White (1947) adds that "because of its symbolic character . . . culture is easily and readily transmitted from one human organism to others" (p.693). Although culture is a complex whole which is easily transmitted, the process of transmission is not left to chance, especially in critical social need areas such as survival of group, food production, and governance. Human beings to meet these needs form relatively permanent groups with accompanying patterns of behavior (Merrill, 1957). "These groups and the accompanying patterns of behavior are known as social institutions" (Merrill, p. 11). The social institutions mold and transmit the social heritage or culture to the individual. Every society has basic institutions: the family, politic, economy, and religion (Williams, 1970). In some societies, the basic social institution may be more visible and differentiated than in others. In any case, the character and nature of social institutions, culture, and process of interaction in a given society were made and created by man. Consistent with this reasoning, Merrill (1957) observed that "the democratic state, the monogamus family, and the capitalistic system were not handed down by supernatural force" (p.5), but were constructed by man and became an integral part of the society through social evolution. In fact, human beings have socially made themselves. In the process, however, certain institutional forces may be positive at one point of societal development and destructive or negative at another. Merrill cites that "the principal problems of our day arise from the inability of man to control the social forces he has set in motion: problems of government, economics, poverty . . ." (p.4).

The observations of Merrill and Tussing strongly suggest that there are forces operating in the American society that have consequences for poverty. However, the critical question at this point of the discussion is what are the origins and history of these societal or macro forces? The American society, since its humble beginning, has generated tremendous wealth over the years and today is unquestionably the wealthiest nation in the world. The driving force behind this achievement and accumulation of wealth is the dynamic interplay among and consistency within the basic institutions of the society.

The paradox, however, is that the forces generating the wealth may also be generating poverty. Since 1940, the Gross National Product (G.N.P.) has consistently increased. In 1940 it was $100 billion; in 1945 it was $212 billion, and by 1970 it had increased almost 400 percent to $992 billion (Table 1). However, poverty within the society did not drop as drastically as the G.N.P. increased, except during one period, from 1960 to 1970. The G.N.P. almost doubled during this period from $506.5 to $992.7 billion. Poverty in the society dropped from 22.2% to 12.6%; for whites from 16.2 to 8.1, a 50% drop. For black Americans from 1965 to 1970, the decline in poverty was from 40.9% to 32.3%. From 1971 to 1980, the G.N.P. again measured increases by more than 100% from $1,077.6 trillion to $2,633.1 trillion. However, this relatively large gain in the G.N.P. had no impact in terms of reducing the percentage of families in poverty. In fact, it increased slightly for whites and the total society: 8.6% and 13.0% respectively.

The data in Table 2 show an interesting trend in terms of number of people employed by occupational classification. The data indicate that more people are being employed in white-collar and service jobs as opposed to blue-collar and farm jobs. Although the economy measured in terms of the Gross National Product demonstrated a high rate of growth from 1970 to 1980, it had a positive effect on some occupational classifications and a negative one on others. The economy had negative consequences for the blue-collar occupations. This may answer in part the lack of change in poverty rates for the Society. Those in poverty tend to enter the work force in blue-collar types of employment. The data in

68

Tables 1 and 2 suggest that a robust economy measured in terms of G.N.P. may not significantly reduce poverty in the general society—

Table 5-1. Gross National Product* And Family Below Poverty By Race 1960 Thru 1980

Year	G.N.P. in Billions	% White	% Black	Total Poverty Population
1960	506.5	16.2	*	22.2
1965	691.1	11.7		17.3
1970	992.7	8.1	32.2	12.6
1971	1077.6	8.2	31.2	12.5
1972	1185.9	7.4	32.4	11.9
1973	1326.4	6.9	30.8	11.1
1974	1434.2	7.5	30.3	11.6
1975	1549.2	8.3	30.1	12.3
1976	1718.0	7.5	30.1	11.8
1977	1918.3	7.5	30.5	11.6
1978	2163.9	7.3	29.5	11.4
1979	2417.8	7.4	29.9	11.7
1980	2633.1	8.6	31.1	13.0

*Specific count of the black population was not made until 1965. All blacks were previously included in the category of *other*, a combination of other ethnic groups. The G.N.P. is the sum of the market prices of all goods and services produced during a given year. The G.N.P. and Net National Product (NNP) tend to overstate the production value of what becomes newly available during the year. This is corrected in the Net Income (N.Y.). However, the G.N.P. is the only total output measure permitting year-to-year comparisons free of the effects of price changes (Batchelder, 1971). Consequently, this output measure was used. Source: Statistical Abstract, 1981.

Table 5-2. Labor Force By Occupational Classification 1960 to 1980 (Employment in 1000)

Occupational Classification	Year 1960	Year 1970	Year 1980
Total	65,778	78,678	99,303
White Collar	28,522(43.3%)	38,024(48.3%)	51,882(52.2%)
Blue Collar	24,057(36.5%)	27,807(35.3%)	31,452(31.7%)
Service	8,023(12.1%)	9,719(12.4%)	13,228(13.3%)
Farm	5,176(7.8%)	3,127(4.07%)	2,741(2.8%)

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings.

specifically for some racial groups. Although the poverty rate is extremely high for blacks, poverty also affected nearly 10% of all white families. Considering the wealth of the nation measured in terms of the Gross National Product, this represents a high level of poverty. Lens (1969) *Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox** is a rare attempt to discuss poverty from colonial times suggesting the genesis of some of the societal forces which may impact upon the growth of wealth and poverty in America as reflected in Table 1.

Lens, however, has not been the only writer to suggest the significance of understanding a social problem, especially poverty, from a historical perspective. Howes and Markusen (1975) observed in *Poverty: A Regional Political Economy Perspective* that the major weakness in the analysis of poverty today lies in the disembodying of the phenomenon from the processes that historically generated it and presently continue it. Therefore, a historical approach will be utilized discussing the thoughts of historical leaders of various religious, political, social and economic entities, and their influence upon the society. The basic purpose of this approach is to seek the origin of societal forces that influences and perpetuates poverty as suggested by Tussing (1975) and Merrill (1957) so that realistic solutions to poverty can be suggested. The focus will be limited to discussing discrimination, especially racial, laissez-faire policy within the government, and colonial influence.

Colonial Influences on the Contemporary Society

According to Lens and others, the sending of settlers to America during the Colonial period was a form of an anti-poverty program which required no basic changes in the social order in Europe. This act eliminated a relatively large number of poor people, especially in England. As indicated by the London company, this act alone drained off the fuel of a dangerous revolution. In any case, settlers, servants, and slaves entering America were expected to work. Under the Protestant Ethic, which was the driving force for many to come to America, work was considered among the highest virtues, akin to motherhood and idleness among the most flagrant. For example, ". . when Cotton Mather saw beggars on the streets of Boston, he fumed that 'our Lord Jesus Christ himself had expressly forbidden us to countenance' them" (Lens 1969, p.17). Others viewed idleness as the parent of all vices. According to Giddens (1971), Protestantism, unlike Catholicism, did not relax the control of the church over day-to-day activities. Consequently, it injected a religious factor into all spheres of the life of the believer. "The calling of the individual is to fulfill his duty to God through the moral conduct of his day-to-day (p.127). The notion of hard work included the acceptance of the accumulation of wealth. According to Weber (1930) in *The Protestant Ethic,* material profit that does not entice idle luxury was morally recommended. "To wish to be poor it was often argued, was the same as wishing to be unhealthy . . ." (p. 163).

---

*Because the Lens book discussed poverty from a historical perspective, it will be referred to frequently in some sections of the Chapter, especially when his observations are not challenged by other sources.

With religious beliefs undergirding daily life, the colonial Americans interacted within a developing society that strongly emphasized hard work and not idleness. Although the able bodied were expected to work, there was no opposition to providing help and assistance to the helpless, the sick, and the aged through community structures called "home relief". This system is patterned and organized after the poor law enacted in 1601 by Elizabeth of England. It is interesting to note that during this earlier colonial period, the Quakers had established a religious mission to eliminate poverty through a program called "Holy Experiment". Lens (1969) observed that the program did not succeed because the virtuous men, instead of building a virtuous society, lost their virtue as they became more affluent.

Many of the settlers, those experiencing poverty and those who were not, came to America as indentured servants like the Africans. Under the indentured servant system, Europeans and Africans worked for several years after which time they were set free (Bennett, 1966). According to Williams (1944), this system became too costly to maintain because it was open-ended, constantly freeing workers and replacing them with new servants. Consequently, the colonial powers decided to close the system, i.e., enslaving the workers for life. The white workers were ruled out because there was no system that could be devised to clearly identify the free and the nonfree in the event of escapes and run-aways to other settlements. The Indians were eliminated because they knew the unexplored territories of American better than the white settlers thus increasing their probability for escape. The only group that did not know the unexplored territories and whose skin color made them highly visible in the settlements were Africans.

The European empires, primarily the British who by and large controlled the American colonies, consequently, forced them in the 1660's to enact laws which enslaved Africans for life to facilitate the emergence and development of mercantilism in Europe (Jordan, 1968; Williams, 1944). This act planted the seed for the emergence of racism within the colonies. However, racism did not emerge in the American society, according to Woodward (1966) and Bennett (1966), until the middle of the eighteenth century, just before the War of Independence to justify further enslavement of Afro-Americans. During the colonial period, blacks were simply enslaved without any justification relating to physiology such as inferiority because of race.

At the end of the colonial period, the settlers of America had strong beliefs and attitudes about work, individualism, self-reliance and poverty. Also, many served as indentured servants with blacks and after enslavement worked as free tenants with blacks. In fact, many settlers such as the Quakers at one time opposed the act of enslavement on moral grounds (Woodward, 1966; Bennett, 1966; and Jordan, 1968).

The Declaration of Independence and the ending of the Revolutionary War did not impede or change the beliefs and values developed during colonial times, but enhanced them. In fact, the social heritage or culture influenced the wording of the Constitution and was destined to play a major role in shaping the other basic institutions. After the Revolutionary War, problems about the directions of the new government were to be solved.

After Washington took the Office of President in 1789, the new Federal Government of America had three basic problems to resolve. Each of the problems had profound consequence for today's poverty: 1) Maintaining an agrarian society based upon small landholders or establishing a factory system such as in England; 2) Maintaining an active or inactive (Laissez-Faire) role by the government in the affairs of the citizens, and 3) Abolishing or maintaining slavery.

From Slavery to Racial Discrimination

As cited elsewhere, the Europeans, primarily English, in seeking to exploit the so called Elysian Fields of the colonies initially established a system of indentured servitude. Under this system Europeans and Africans worked for several years and were set free (Bennett, 1966).

However, this system was too costly to maintain and in the 1660's the colonies were forced to enact laws which enslaved Africans for life (Jordon, 1968, Williams, 1944). This action planted the seed of racism, but the justification and rationalization for the enslavement of Africans in the colonies did not emerge until the middle of the eighteenth century (Bennett, 1966).

As stated earlier, Africans were not enslaved for life because of the notion of white superiority, but economic expediency. The colonies in developing a rallying point for collective action against England before the Revolutionary War adopted one of the principles of the humanitarian movement: "that all men are created equal." This principle became a good rallying point for the colonies but soon became problematic because of slavery. Some individuals in the colonies favored joining the issues of freeing the slaves and fighting for independence for the colonies. However, there were other individuals who favored keeping blacks enslaved because of their role in the agrarian economy (Franklin, 1967, Woodson, 1947, and Du Bois, 1935). It was out of the debates and arguments of these two opposing groups on the slavery issue that the concept racism and race emerged. In brief, some revolutionary leaders were concerned about a possible collapse of their economy. If the slaves were set free, who would do the work in the field? Free workers would be more expensive than slaves.

Thomas Jefferson, according to Conrad (1966), in taking sides with the pro-slavery forces, introduced the term race into the debate to justify the Afro-Americans' positions as slaves (1966). Jefferson, in drawing upon the botanical works of Linnaeus, states that some men are racially different from other men and subsequent-ly, some are superior to others. Implicit in Jefferson's argument was the Herrenvolk theory of pure racial types. H. G. Wells (1922) in *A Short History of the World*, discusses the weakness of the pure racial types and states that the human group in Europe, Asia, and Africa wandered and interbred freely and separated, mingled and reunited like clouds. Consequently, there were no pure races or racial types. However, the pro-slavery forces used and elaborated Jefferson's arguments. Many schemes were put forth to justify white as superior and black as inferior because of race (Du Bois, 1935).

The diatribe directed against Africans and Africa eliminated from western world history and from the minds of Euro-Americans and Europeans the contributions to mankind that had been made by African civilizations, such as Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Benin, Congo and Monomotapa (Davidson, 1959; Africanus, 1896; deGraft-Johnson, 1954; and Du Bois, 1935). According to Reade (1925) in the *Martyrdom* *of Man* and Draper (1876) in *A History of Intellectual Development of Europe*, these states in Africa were far superior socially, economically, and politically to any nations in Europe prior to 1500 A.D. Also many of them survived the devastation of the slave trade (Hunton, 1960; Nkrumah, 1970).

The pro-slavery force not only sought to play down and deny the contributions made by these African civilizations that existed South of the Sahara but also argued that Egypt and Ethiopia were not on the continent of Africa and, therefore, had no ties with the people South of the Sahara (Toynbee, 1934). Although most Euro-Americans shared this belief as late as the 1960's and 1970's, anthropologists and archeologists have shown that Egypt and Ethiopia are ancestrally tied to the interior of Africa and Asia and not Europe. Further, the ancient Egyptians were from the central and eastern parts of Africa (Du Bois, 1935).

In addition to these attacks upon Africans, the pro-slavery forces argued that one of the major indicators of white superiority and black inferiority was that the Europeans developed a written language and the Africans did not. However, as deGraft-Johnson argues, the vast majority of the letters in the English alphabet, the basis for the written English language, were developed or invented by the Phoenicians, a non-European and non-white Semitic language speaking people who mingled with the Ethiopians and Egyptians and eventually settled in the western part of Africa (deGraft-Johnson, 1954). Most standardized dictionaries support deGraft-Johnson's position on the Phoenicians' contribution to the English alphabet (Webster, 1968). Therefore, the European and Euro-American did not develop any written language which indicated their racial superiority over Africa and the Afro-American.

It was drawing upon false racial notions of white superiority that the pro-slavery forces were able to get incorporated into the United States Constitution in 1787 the Three-Fifths of a Man Compromise (Franklin, 1967; Du Bois, 1935). This compromise sanctioned slavery after the War of Independence in which Afro-Americans, even slaves, fought side-by-side with Euro-Americans against the British (Bennett, 1966; Woodson, 1947). The federal decision of further enslavement, including the justification of white superiority, was now being generally supported by society. From 1789 to 1860, the leadership of the religious institution sought to support and reinforce the political decision by seeking to interpret Biblical Scriptures for religious justification for enslavement (Jones, 1974).

Also, during this period the institutions of family and education sought ways to support enslavement. According to Bryce-Laport, (1971) to control the interaction between members of black families and white families, an etiquette of slavery was introduced with proscription and prescription for blacks and whites. The educational institution, on the other hand, published a number of books and documents detailing why whites were inherently superior to blacks (Jones, 1974). After independence, the act of decreeing further enslavement of blacks with the justification of white superiority enshrined racism and slavery into the social, religious, educational, political, and economic fibers of the American society. The patterns of interaction between blacks and whites dictated by slavery, which ended in 1862, generated a social heritage or culture which contained some extremely strong beliefs about the inferiority of blacks. These beliefs were so strong in the American society that they were unaffected by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

The commitment to and the belief in the notion of racial superiority of the white race was so strong in the North and in the South that gains which blacks had made from 1865 to 1890 were short-lived. Racism after the Civil War led to the development of all types of sophisticated (in the North) and not so sophisticated (in the South) programs and groups. For example, the infamous Ku Klux Klan was founded in the South, but had considerable support in the North. The purpose of the KKK, according to Bennett, was to attack the political power of the Afro-American and make him politically impotent. The KKK, a secret organization, felt that by murder, intimidation and assassination—by whipping, maiming, cutting, and shooting; by the rope, by the whip, by branding of the babies in their mothers' arms; by slaying the husband at the wife's feet, and by raping the wife before her husband's eyes—that these things would created fear in the Afro-Americans, and they would stay away from the voting places (Bennett, 1966, p. 197). Along with the KKK, other secret organizations emerged such as the Knights of the White Camelia, the Red Shirts, the White League, Mother's Little Helpers, and Baseball Club of the First Baptist Church. Although these groups came into being to attack the political powers of the Afro-American, their primary purpose was to control and subordinate blacks.

Alvarez (1971) and Woodward (1966) observed that the United States Supreme Court began facilitating the emergence of legalized racism through Jim Crow in 1873 in the Slaughter House Cases: United States vs. Reese and United States vs. Cruikshank in 1876. In these cases, the court drastically curtailed the privileges and immunities recognized as being under federal protection. The Court further ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. In 1896, the court in Plessy vs. Ferguson ruled that equal but separate accommodations was constitutional (Woodward 1966; Alvarez 1971), and in 1898, the Court ruled in Williams vs. Mississippi that the Mississippi plan, which was designed to deprive Afro-Americans of their rights to vote, was legal (Woodward 1966). The Mississippi plan, which was later adopted by all Southern states, stipulated that all voters must be able to read and understand any clause of the state's constitution. How well a voter read and understood was determined by a white man. Blacks were further excluded from voting by property ownership qualifications, poll taxes, and white primaries (Alvarez, 1971). All of these decisions by the Court led to open a legal road to proscription, segregation, and disfranchisement of the Afro-American. Alvarez, in discussing these decisions by the United States Supreme Court, states that the court during these historical decisions was dominated not by southerners but by northerners.

With the United States Supreme Court, mostly northerners, ruling that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconsititutional and ruling that the voting plans initiated in the South were constitutional, blacks under Jim Crow were back into slavery.

Outside of the South such as in the North and East, the situations of blacks were similar to their southern counterparts. Through sophisticated programming, blacks were contained in ghettoes; gerrymanding limited their voting powers, and racial discrimination restricted them to the lowest paying jobs.

The notion of white superiority was rejuvenated after the Civil War and was stronger than ever with the institutionalization of Jim Crow. Racism went virtually unchecked in America until 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled against segregated schools, and also in 1964 when the Civil Rights Act was again passed in Congress. In 1965, the Voting Act became law and in the 1970's black groups successfully argued for the inclusion of the accomplishments of blacks in the schools' textbooks. In spite of the successes, there is strong indication that racism is alive and well in America, especially in the labor market place. For example, black unemployment is consistently twice as high as white; unemployment runs as high as 50% among black teenagers. As Table 1 indicates, the percentage of blacks in poverty is three times higher than that of whites. Further, racism—a creature developed by man initially to perserve the work forces for a new nation whose economic system at the time was agrarian—persisted once it was introduced in the society. Over the years the agrarian economy changed, but racism became an integral part of the culture of the American society influencing the high rate of poverty among blacks.

After years of protest by black and white citizens about harsh and inhumane treatment of blacks in America, Congress passed a comprehensive Civil Rights Act in 1964. The act was created to combat racism and racial discrimination in regard to: public accommodations, public facilities, federally assisted programs, and employment (Sobel 1967).

To ascertain the impact of the Civil Rights Act upon the lives of black and white rural families, more than 2,000 heads of households were interviewed. The data in Table 3 reflect the responses of these respondents. As Table 3 suggests, rural blacks and white share differing opinions on the notion that the Civil Rights Act has made life better for everyone in the community. In general, the cross tabulation shows that black respondents have greater propensity to agree with this statement; whereas, white respondents tend to disagree or to be undecided. The Chi square test achieves statistical significance at the 0.001 level and the gamma coefficient or correlation is moderately high. These data suggested a relationship between race and perception of the Civil Rights Act.

Table 5-3.* "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had Made Life Better for People in This Community" by Race

Response Categories	% Black N=960	% White N=1570
Agree	76.9	41.7
Undecided	15.9	38.4
Disagree	7.1	19.9
X^2 = 2.89		
Gamma = 0.59		

Table 4 reflects data from another question that was designed to elicit racial attitudes about neighborhood. There has been considerable racial violence in many areas when Blacks move into a predominantly white neighborhood. According to Bogardus (Babbie 1973) and Taeubers (1965) segregated housing patterns strongly reflect racial attitudes. Whites may not object to blacks living in their community, but may exhibit strong racial attitudes, and behavior when a Black moves into the neighborhood, especially next door.

---

*Data in Tables 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10 reflect the responses of rural heads of households in ten southern states.

The data in Table 4 reveal that white respondents are more likely to indicate a preference for their own race while black respondents tend to indicate no preference. The Chi square test (46.18) is significant at the 0.001 level while the gamma coefficient is low (0.25). Therefore, a relationship exists between race and preference for neighbor, especially for whites, but the magnitude of this relationship does not lead one to conclude substantively that respondents choose neighbors on the basis of race.

Although the data in Tables 3 and 4 do not focus on discrimination in the economic arena, there have been other studies in which this area has been addressed. Heistand (1970) observed that racial discrimination is so imbedded in the economic institution that it is very difficult to overcome. Not only is it difficult to overcome, social scientists, when observing economic differences such as in income, occupation and poverty rates between blacks and whites, have been reluctant to attribute the differences to racial discrimination. These economic differences between blacks and whites are often viewed as unexplainable or attributed to the possible influences of education, geopraphical location, previous work experiences, parental background and other factors (Meissner 1966). However, Siegel (1965) in analyzing these factors concluded that they accounted for possibly 62 percent of differences in the income of blacks and whites. The remainder or 38 percent was attributed to racism. Similar observations were made by Blau and Duncan (1967) in *The American Occupational Structure.* In statistically controlling for same origin, same education and same first jobs for both racial groups, they concluded that the occupational changes of non-whites were still consistently inferior to those of whites.

Table 5-4. Racial Preference of Neighborhood by Race

Response Categories	% Black N=960	% White N=1570
Yes	41.9	55.8
No	7.5	6.2
Does Not Matter	50.6	38.0
$X^2 = 46.18$		
Gamma = 0.25		

Social, political and economic leaders have appeared reluctant to accept the devasting affect racism has had upon the lives of black

Americans. Instead, the tendency has been to attribute high unemployment, underemployment and other conditions of poverty of blacks to factors other than racism. Consequently, there have been little efforts to rigidly enforce statures and laws designed to eliminate racism from the society. Eliminating racial discrimination, especially in the economic sector, may have an immediate major impact on reducing the high rate of poverty among blacks. Racism is so ingrained in society that it is an integral part of the function of America. Racism like laissez-faire persisted as the new nation grew and developed.

From Laissez-Faire to Partial Government Intervention

Another major problem that influenced poverty facing the new political order was the role of government in the affairs of citizens. This problem was implicity raised by Alexander Hamilton, the first appointed Secretary of the Treasury under Washington. Hamilton, in seeking to secure a special place in the new government for the rich and powerful, stated at the Constitutional Convention that "communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people . . . turbulent and changing, they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government" (Lens: p.81). Consequently, for many years the members of the senate and the president were not subject to the direct vote or the will of the people (Andrist, 1972). Hamilton, at another point expounded another view consistent with the first that explicity declared what he felt the government's role should be in the affair of citizens. He argued that the government's primary concern should be for the "rich and well-born" who, as he claimed, were the backbones of the society (Lens: p. 168). Hamilton's position set off an intensive debate for several decades. The Liberals opposed this position. The Liberals argued for neutrality or laissez-faire between contending classes. The agrarian leaders opposed the conservative and liberal views and argued that the federal government had the responsibility to protect the natural rights of the many from the few. Agrarianists' basic position was that the rich and powerful already had too much control and influence in government and laissez-faire would not work (Lens, 1969). Lens (1969) interestingly notes that through various organizations the farmers for three decades after the Civil War initiated activities that caused many people to begin re-thinking the role of the government in the affairs of citizens, especially aid to the poor.

The proponents of laissez-faire argued that it was consistent with the basic creed which caused many immigrants to come to America in the first instance, freedom from government intervention and notions of individualism, which includes self-reliance through hard work. The notion of laissez-faire, especially as it related to poverty—not helping the poor, became explicitly accepted by the federal government during the debates. However, it had been implicitly accepted from the beginning of the new government. For example, Benjamin Franklin wrote in the eighteenth century "I think the best way of doing good to the poor is, not making them easy in poverty" (Lens, 1969, p.94). Again during the depression of 1819, President Monroe's message to Congress hardly mentioned poverty. He eloquently spoke of prosperous and happy conditions in the country. He made this speech even though 30,000 people in nine states had sent petitions to Congress for relief and received no recognition and no action (Lens, 1969). Neither the depression of 1854 nor 1890 had any influence on changing the government's position regarding laissez-faire. The doctrine of laissez-faire prevented the government from providing relief to the poor and from curbing un-ethical practices by the wealthy.

The doctrine of laissez-faire unbridled the leaders of business and corporations to pursue whatever means necessary to make a profit. William K. Vanderbilt's statement "the public be damned" characterized the rich's position about their economic success and practices. Vanderbilt made fifty million dollars in one year by manipulating the stocks and bonds of his railroads. Andrew Carnegie made 23 million dollars in one year and paid no taxes on it (Lens, 1969). With poverty increasing as a result of the depression and a constant influx of immigrants, to justify their accumulation of wealth and conspicuous consumption, the wealthy invited Herbert Spencer, the English philosopher to America.

Spencer whose writing preceded Darwin's *Origin of the Species* included the phrase survival of the fittest. Under the Natural Order of Things, Spencer observed society in seeking to make room for the competent and deserving is "constantly excreting its unhealthy, imbecile, slow, vacillating, faithless members (and) bring to early graves the children of diseased parents and singles out the low-spirited, the intemperate, and the debilitated as the victims of an epidemic." He further stated "for the society to indifferently watch the poor flounder or perish by their own inadequacies was not venal, but simply the fundamental law of social life" (Lens: p. 188). The disciples of Spencer such as William Graham Summer of Yale further popularized his views in America. John D. Rockfeller observed that the growth of a large business is merely the survival of the fittest (Lens: p. 189).

As the wealthy sought to justify their accumulation of wealth as poverty increased, many private charities sponsored by the rich emerged to augment the efforts of the alms houses. Although the wealthy established charities of various types to possibly ease their conscience, according to Lens (1969) they were committed to laissez-faire and the doctrine of Social Darwinism. For example, when Josephine Shaw Lowell founded her charity in New York in 1882, she stated that relief ought to be limited to those already in an institution—such as alms houses—and made so unattractive that people would want to escape (Lens, 1969). Josephine S. Lowell's position is quite similar to that of Benjamin Franklin which was made almost 100 years earlier. Although the alms houses and private charities were trying to cope with the problems of the poor, in 1893 there were 3 million workers unemployed and many of those employed had their salaries cut from 10 to 30 percent. Unionist Samuel Gompers pleaded for public work and public relief, and not a single state or the federal government responded.

The federal government did not become involved in public work and relief until Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in 1932. Although Teddy Roosevelt had advocated a "square deal" for everyone—labor, business, and the public,—he mainly concentrated upon busting trusts and other monopolies through the Sherman Antitrust Act, which was passed in 1890, and resolving conflict between management and labor (Harbaugh, 1961). Therefore, the government under Teddy Roosevelt was committed to nongovernment intervention in directly helping the poor through public assistance and remained so until Franklin Roosevelt's Administration. Roosevelt came into office during the depression which began in 1929. When accepting the democratic nomination, he stated, "I pledge you, I pledge myself to a new deal for the American people" (Lens, 1969). The new deal for the American people was a shift from laissez-faire to some government sponsored and implemented programs designed to help 13 million unemployed people (Conkins, 1967). According to Lens, relief under the Roosevelt Administration was not called an act of charity but a direct obligation of the government (1969). The New Deal created direct assistance programs such as social security and unemployment insurance. In addition, other direct assistance was provided through agencies such as: the Federal Emergency Relief Administration

(F.E.R.A.), which put resources directly into the hands of the needy; the Public Works Administration (P.W.A.), which was designed to provide resources indirectly to the needy through heavy industry—priming the pumps of the industry created a half million jobs; and the Civilian Conservation Corp. (C.C.C.), which paid young men to do various jobs while giving them some military training (Conkins, 1967). These programs were in existence prior to World War II. Many of the anti-poverty activities initiated during Roosevelt's Administration became institutionalized as a part of the ongoing operations of the federal government such as social security, and unemployment insurance. Although the New Deal programs reduced unemployment from 13 million to 10 million from 1932 to 1939, the rates were brought down more by WW II. New Deal programs changed the federal government's policy from laissez-faire to what Lens called "controlled capitalism" (p.259).

After WW II with socialist and communist governments coming to power in Europe, the mood of the nation shifted from left and right. Liberals of the New Deal were beleauguered, berated, and sometimes called communists, and some had to defend themselves before Senator Joseph McCarthy's Committee (Lens, 1969). It appeared that with the passage of time; the change in mood of the nation and with poverty losing its middle-class constituency, many observers began again to question the ambition, motivation, ability, and cultural orientation of those still in poverty (Schiller, 1976). Poverty which once affected the majority during the depression, now only affected the minority. Although poverty was now only affecting a small percentage of the population, a larger percentage of black Americans were in this group due primarily to racial discrimination, which affected their education, work experience and occuptional choices. In any case, once again, the cause of poverty was shifted to the characteristics of individuals. There were many books written discussing the various deficiencies in the character of the poor which caused their poverty. However, the writing of Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* (1958) and Harrington's *The Other America* (1962), and the massive black protests suggested another thesis (Grant, 1970).

The Civil Rights Movement was ignited by Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat on the bus to a white person. This act by Rosa Parks precipitated demonstrations throughout America for freedom and employment. In 1963 more than 200,000 people marched for freedom and jobs in Washington, D.C. President Kennedy, after observing poverty in black communities, southern areas and other parts of America, began working on a program that was to be presented to

Congress in 1964. The proposed Kennedy plan was grounded in a set of assumptions consistent with observations made by Harring-ton in *The Other America*. Harrington observed that poverty existed parallel to affluence, and that nothing that the society was doing was going to elevate the poor beyond subsistence. The percolation or trickled down economic approach operating in the system was not reaching the needy. The assassination of Kennedy negated the presentation of this plan, and led to a declaration of a war on poverty by President Johnson, who succeeded Kennedy.

Johnson's Great Society Program included medical care, a new type of education bill, a voting rights law and the Economic Opportunity Act. Many Liberals, according to Lens, felt that America, the richest nation in the world, was now mounting the only war worthy of fighting, the war on poverty (Lens, 1969). However, the war in Vietnam proved differently. With the nation's attention and resources shifting to Vietnam, Lens observed that the Great Society program lapsed into a coma two years after birth and died a year later (1969). Although the Great Society was hailed as a great idea that never quite developed, it, too, was influenced by the basic beliefs and values historically developed in the society. This is reflected in the debate over the poverty threshold. The U. S. Department of Argiculture, the Social Security Administration, and the Council of Economic Advisory all had different thresholds with one thing in common, their recommended level of economic assistance for needy families was relatively low.

Rogers argued that although most reports indicate a larger number of poor in America, it is not an accurate reflection of poverty because the standard for determining who is in poverty is set unrealistically low. For example, in 1976 the poverty threshold for a non-farm family of four was $5,915 or $1,454 per person or $3.98 a day with one-third or 1.32% going for food. Consequently, the welfare programs were not designed to help the poor escape poverty nor to break the vicious cycle of poverty but to perpetuate it (Rogers, 1979; Tussing, 1975). It appears that the basic position advocated by Franklin in the eighteenth century and Lowell in the nineteenth century, making life miserable for the poor and needy seeking help is still functioning. Even though there was a commitment during Johnson's Administration to fight poverty, there were considerable differences of opinion, which affected strategies and funding of programs.

Batchelder observed that "Differences—sometimes angry difference—of opinion have arisen among Americans regarding both the general strategy and the specific tactics adopted by governments and private agencies engaged in the war on poverty. These differences of opinion arise partly because individuals have different value systems . . ." (Batchelder: 1971, p. 2). Schiller, in taking a slightly different approach in discussing the effects of belief and values on poverty, states that there is uncertainty not only about the dimensions but also the causes of poverty: (1) individual weaknesses or characteristics such as laziness, and (2) societal forces such as low demand of labor. Until there is a concensus regarding causes of poverty, political support for the elimination of poverty will be difficult to obtain (Schiller, 1976). The uncertainty that exists within the society has historical roots. Since colonial times the poor have been characterized as lazy and immoral. The Depression of 1929 forced the federal government to take some action that suggested to the public that poverty may be caused by factors other than the characteristics of the poor.

When discussing poverty in rural America, the thesis that the poor are lazy is interesting since the rural population has been viewed historically as that sector of society that protects and maintains the basic beliefs and values of the country. The historical principles of rugged individualism, such as hard work and self-reliance, have often been cited as the basic differences between rural and urban values (Williams, 1982). However, recent data suggest that poverty in general is higher in rural areas than the national averages regardless of race (See Tables 1 and 5).

Table 5-5. Percent of Rural Families Below Poverty

	Whites			Blacks		
Years	NonMetro Areas	Non Farm	Farm	NonMetro Areas	Non Farm	Farm
1959	24.3	12.8	38.7	73.2	45.3	88.1
1969	12.0	7.3	15.1	49.0	27.1	56.4
1979	8.9	6.8	9.6	35.4	27.4	46.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1981, CPR, Consumer Income, Series P-6-, No. 138.

Although there is a consistently high incidence of poverty for black families, it is greatest in rural areas for black and white families alike. Table 6 denotes poverty in ten selected southern states.

Considering the high incidence of poverty in rural areas as indicated by the data in Tables 5 and 6, the following tables demonstrate, whether or not the the attitudes of respondents from selected southern states toward the basic value of work had changed.

Table 5-6. Percent of Rural Families Below Poverty in Selected Southern States

Year	Black	White
1970	43.7	13.1
1980	33.5	9.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1981, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 138.

The data in Table 7 show the relationship between the perception of work as proof of an individual's worth to himself by race and poverty status. The data suggest that blacks, whites, and persons in and out of poverty have a high tendency to think that a person's self-worth is associated with working. There are little, if any, differences between race and poverty status in this regard. This minimal difference is reflected in the low magnitudes of the Chi square tests of statistical significance and the gamma coefficients of correlation. To be specific, the Chi square values of 3.22 and 0.35, respectively, fail to achieve statistical significance. Further, the gamma coefficients suggest a negligible degree of correlation between an individual's perception through working and race and poverty status: these values are 0.13 and 0.05, respectively. Similar responses were given when respondents were asked about putting forth an effort to earn a living.

Table 5-7. Perception of Work as Proof of an Individual's Self-Worth by Race and Poverty Status

	Race		Poverty Status	
Responses	Black %	White %	Above %	Below %
N =	870	1456	1320	951
Agree	88.0	90.0	90.0	89.0
Disagree	12.0	10.0	10.0	11.0
X^2 =	3.22		0.35	
Gamma =	0.13		0.05	

The relationships between response to the statement — "A responsible individual is one who keeps his job" — and race and poverty status are presented in Table 8. Most respondents tend to agree that a responsible person is one who keeps his job. Blacks and whites are equally likely to agree with this statement whereas, persons below the poverty threshold are slightly more likely to agree than persons above the poverty threshold. The value of Chi square for race (0.67) is not statistically significant; albeit, the Chi square value for poverty status (6.06) achieves statistical significance at the 0.01 level. Notwithstanding, a low degree of association is expressed by the coefficients of correlation; the gamma are 0.06 and 0.18. Given the large sample size, the gamma coefficient suggests that the relationship is not substantive; therefore, one should be careful in predicting agreement/disagreement with this statement based on only the knowledge of one's poverty status. Briefly, all respondents regardless of race and poverty status believed that a responsible individual should keep a job.

Table 5-8. "A Responsible Individual is One Who Keeps His Job" by Race and Poverty Status

	Race		Poverty Status	
Response	Black %	White %	Above %	Below %
N=	854	1453	1305	962
Agree	89.0	90.0	88.0	92.0
Disagree	11.0	10.0	12.0	8.0
X^2 =	0.67		6.06	
Gamma =	0.06		0.18	

The data in Table 9 depict the relationships between race and poverty status and the statement, "If I had enough money to support myself and my family, I would never work". It is apparent that all respondents are significantly more likely to express a willingness to work regardless of level of hypothetical wealth. The values by race and poverty status of Chi square are, respectively, 13.78 and 23.73, and are of statistical significance at the 0.002 level. Again, the magnitude of the gamma coefficients of correlation (0.19 and 0.25) indicates that the degree of association bewteen this attitude item and race and poverty status is low. Thus, one can conclude that the relationship is not substantive, although statistically significant. These data support the Protestant ethic that one should not become idle after acquring wealth.

Rural Americans, regardless of race and poverty status in ten selected southern states, identify with societal basic beliefs about work. Therefore, their attitudes toward work do not influence their current status of being in poverty. Because poverty is directly associated with employment, throughout America's history there have been leaders asking the government to provide jobs for the poor. In fact, the "New

Table 5-9. Responses to the Statement: "If I Had Enough Money to Support Myself and My Family I Would Never Work" by Race and Poverty Status

Response	Race		Poverty Status	
	Black	White	Above	Below
	%	%	%	%
N=	892	1493	1341	925
Agree	25.0	18.0	17.0	27.0
Disagree	75.0	82.0	83.0	73.0
X^2 =	13.78		23.73	
Gamma =	0.19		0.25	

Deal" with the exception of the C.C.C. and the Great Society or War on Poverty acquiesed to the leadership of business and maintained a policy of laissez-faire with regard to creation of jobs. Instead of creating jobs directly, these programs sought to encourage industry to do so by providing funds to industry, the so called priming the pump strategy.

Table 10 provides data on the respondents' attitudes pertaining to whether the government and/or private business should be responsible for providing jobs. In general, most respondents felt that both government and private business should be responsible for providing employment. In examining racial differences, blacks are more likely to state that the government should provide job opportunities while whites are more likely to cite private business. Regarding poverty status, persons in poverty tend to indicate that jobs should be provided by the government while persons not in poverty tend to indicate that

Table 5-10. Responsiblity for Providing Jobs by Race and Poverty Status

Categories	Race		Poverty Status	
	Black	White	Above	Below
	%	%	%	%
N=	865	1229	1170	875
Only Private Business	2.0	19.0	17.0	6.0
Only Government	13.0	8.0	7.0	13.0
Government & Private Business	86.0	73.0	76.0	81.0
Gamma =	0.41		0.20	

private business should provide the jobs. The Chi square tests are statistically significant at the 0.001 level for both relationships; however, the sizes of the gamma coefficients differ. The degree of correlation for the 'race-responsible-for-employment' relationship is moderate, whereas the correlation for the poverty status-responsible-for-employment' relationship is low.

In any case, the vast majority of the respondents, regardless of race and poverty status, favored the involvement of both government and private business in providing jobs. These respondents' views are consistent with those of social reform leaders throughout history, but are inconsistent with the historical and current position of the leadership of business community and the government. The federal government shifted from laissez-faire in part during the Administrations of Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Johnson and initiated programs to help the poor. However, these efforts did not institutionalize a functional relationship between government and private business for creating jobs for persons of poverty status seeking employment. The concentration was primarily on changing the characteristics of the poor (the Assumption of Flawed Character) through education and training. This strategy appeared to have been consistent with the historical belief that if individuals were poor, then their poverty reflected some type of individualistic weakness. Therefore, by eliminating weaknesses such as laziness or lack of skill, the person would become employed regardless of the demands of the labor market. In brief, beliefs that were a part of the social heritage are still influencing the society's perception of poverty. Instead of providing assistance and jobs at the level above poverty, the focus is only on minimum subsistence and changing the characteristics of the individual. Although these respondents exhibited attitudes strongly supporting the work ethic, many are still in poverty because of lack of job opportunities.

From Agrarian Society to Controlled Capitalism

Today's economic institution reflects more than 100 years of development characterized by periodic recessions and depression. These cyclical downturns in the economy have led to changes in the economic system. These changes have gradually altered some features of the initial economic order of capitalism, which emerged under a system of laissez-faire, undergirded by the Protestant Ethic.

Historically, there have been considerable discussions between the proponents of Marxism and those supporting Weber regarding the influence of the Protestant Ethic on the emergence of capitalism or vice versa. Although that debate will continue, there is no doubt about the influence of the Protestant Ethic on the development of capitalism in America. The focus on individualism including hardwork and self reliance, freedom from governmental influence and the accumulation of wealth from hard work are some of the basic tenets of the Protestant Ethic. On the other hand, the basic features of capitalism are: private ownership of capital, private ownership of means of production (e.g. factories), larger work force the members of which compete for jobs, free markets for competitive goods and services. They also include freedom from interference by the government or laissez-faire in the dynamic process among capital, enterprise, work force and market, and profit as the reason for the venture (Wendzel, 1956; Loucks, 1965). The basic tenets of the Protestant Ethic became a part of the early American culture and provided capitalism a fertile social environment in which to emerge, grow and develop. Initially, however, some of the founding fathers were ambivalent about the factory system that began in England.

Jefferson had seen the factory system in France and England and had concluded that it had a negative impact on the spirit of the women and children and reduced men below the means of supporting life, even by labor. Jefferson, therefore, supported the maintenance and further development of a society based upon small land holders. Hamilton, favored the factory system (Lens, 1969) because he supported the thesis that the rich and well born should run the society. The factory system, which required capital, would make this class paramount in the nation. Although Hamilton's position prevailed, the factory system did not emerge in America until after the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) which disrupted the supply of goods from Europe. This disruption revitalized the household manufacturing industry initiated during colonial period. However, by 1830 household manufacture had declined significantly in the eastern states with a concomitant increase in industrial organizations or factories. From 1830 the economic sector, especially factories, rapidly developed primarily because of (a) the businessmen's willingness to utilize new technology in production and manufacturing as it became available, and (b) the national effort to develop a transportation system to facilitate economic development (Niemi, 1975; Robertson, 1973). For example, the textile industry by 1860 was almost completely mechanized. According to Niemi, manufacturing had replaced agriculture as the leading source of economic growth by the end of the nineteenth century, and the United States had emerged as the leading industrial nation in the world (1975). The factory system had immediate influence on the citizens. For example, in 1789, there were only 130,000 people living in the six cities with 8,000 or more population. In 1860, there were 5,000,000 people in the 141 cities in the nation. Manhattan had 813,669, Philadelphia had 566,000, and Baltimore 212,000. The factory system therefore not only affected the population patterns but also living habits.

As capitalism grew and developed without interference from government, so did poverty (Lens, 1969). With the unethical patterns of behavior of the business community going unchecked during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the U.S. capitalists became known as the Robber Barons. They exploited labor, natural resources, bribed governmental officials, and pursued whatever means necessary to make money. Their activities were consistent with what Loucks observed as the heart of the instititution of capitalism, which is to make a profit (Loucks, 1965). The Gross National Product for 1920 was $70 billion and almost 5 million people were unemployed, and by 1929, it was $103 billion. Calvin Coolidge, then Vice President, observed that "the business of America is buisness" (Lens, p. 231). Although the writings of George in *Progress and Poverty* (1879), Riis in *How the Other Half Lives* (1895), and Hunter in *Poverty* (1906) stirred controversy and concern, Hunter observed that there were at least ten million Americans in poverty during those times of tremendous growth in wealth and prosperity. The 1900 census indicated that six and one-half million Americans or almost one-fourth of the labor force were unemployed at some time during the year, two million for as long as four to six months.

In 1900, according to the industrial commission, wages were 19% lower than in the period before the depression of 1893. Also industrial accidents were rampant and factory sanitation was deporable. Lens (1969) states that in 1901, 2,675 railroad workers or one out of every 399 were killed on the job. The patterns were consistent in other areas as well. For example, operating craftmen experienced a mortality rate of one out of every 137 workers. The sweatshops and factories, where many accidents occurred, became the most derogatory word in industry. However, the nation became concerned and incensed about these operations in 1911 when 145 employees, mostly young girls, died in a fire while trapped in a loft of a building that had no fire escape (Lens, 1969). Unbridled industrial development not only produced wealth, but also misery for a large number of citizens. In seeking to curb certain unethical business practices, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust

Act in 1890. However, it was the depression of 1929 that led to major activities to modify the economic system and to set up programs to financially protect workers from the loss of jobs because of age and the recurring cycles of recessions and depressions.

The federal government moved in part from laissez-faire to intervention to soften the impact of poverty and to regulate various activities in the economic system. This effort on the part of the federal government has been called "Controlled Capitalism' by Lens (1969) and "Democratic Capitalism' by Wendzel (1956). The decision on the part of the government to intervene in the market place and the economic life of citizens has caused some observers to suggest that additional modifications in the economic system are needed to eliminate poverty in rural and urban areas. Government intervention is needed in a society to help eliminate poverty if the primary motive for going into business is for profit. Some areas, rural or urban, may be viewed as less profitable than others. Therefore, individuals living in less desirable unprofitable areas are likely to experience higher incidence of poverty than those in more profitable areas. This problem is further complicated when the controller of capital for investment has the option of investing in businesses located locally, nationally, and internationally. Because there is a very functional international economy, it may be more profitable for the private sector to develop enterprises overseas. Consequently, these activities may not reduce poverty in America.

The economic instititution, as shown by the data in Table 1, generated tremendous wealth as measured by G.N.P. over the past decades. Poverty, however, is still unacceptably high. As the data in Table ll suggest, the percent of civilians employed in the work force went down in 1980, while the G.P.N. increased by more than 100% (See Table 1).

Table 5-11. Total Number of Employed Within The Civilian Labor Force (16 to 65 Years of Age)

Category	1970	1980
Employed	95.1%	92.9%
Unemployed*	4.9%	7.1%

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, 1984.

*These data do not take into account the number of persons who have dropped out of the labor force of long term unemployment and the lack of employment opportunities (the discourage worker). In addition, the number of unemployed pre-supposes contact by the unemployed with state employment agencies. Also, the employed category for 1980 includes more than 3 million workers who are earning wages below the poverty line.

The flawed character thesis, which suggests that the underemployed and unemployed lack certain characteristics such as education to complete and obtain employment, has been questioned by several observers. Their thesis is that poverty within the society will remain the same when the aggregate demand (household, business, and government) in the economy for workers is low, regardless of changes in workers' characteristics (Tussing, 1975). Educational attainment under conditions of low demand for workers determines how poverty will be distributed within the society. It will not eliminate it. Although it is generally agreed that low educational attainment correlates with poverty, this correlation, however, does not necessarily indicate causality, especially in the case of a deficient demand for labor. Race may also correlate with poverty but discrimination is a cause of poverty for blacks. Further, Tussing observed that job requirements are not set in a vacuum. Employers know the skills and abilities that are available in the labor force and set standards accordingly and will seek to employ workers with high education, regardless of the requirement of the actual employment. The educated worker is viewed as more easily trainable than the less educated, thereby reducing cost and increasing profit. However, when there is a true shortage of labor, employers will hire the uneducated and unskilled and train them (Schiller 1976). Therefore, the strategy of focusing upon educating and training the poor to eliminate poverty is only effective in an economy that has high demand for workers, a full employment economy (Tussing, 1975).

To eliminate poverty of the flawed character nature (poor needing training and education) and scarcity of jobs (low aggregate demand), Tussing (1975) suggests direct government involvement creating jobs and employing people. The data in Table 10 indicate that the respondents support this strategy. According to Tussing and Schiller, poverty, when discrimination is not a factor, can only be eliminated in two basic ways: (1) provide the poor with above poverty income through the welfare system and/or (2) employ them at above poverty wages and salaries. The argument set forth by Tussing, Schiller, and others attributing some of the causes of poverty to lack of good paying jobs is applicable to all sectors of the society, including the rural sector.

Further, there is an emerging view that it is a mistake to discuss, analyze, and seek solutions to problems defined as just rural or urban, especially in the area of poverty. The rural-urban areas are not a dichotomy, but highly interdependent. Certainly space and distance create more unique problems for rural areas than for urban. However, as one report suggests, "the interdependence of rural and urban people causes the action of each group to affect the other. Similarly, policies designed to meet the needs of rural people have ramifications for urban residents and vice-versa" (Gilford, Nelson 1981).

The arguments by Tussing, Schiller, and others are quite persuasive and deserve careful consideration. However, the unreadiness on the part of the government to become the employer of last resort is related to the historical belief in laissez-faire, especially in the area of creating jobs and employing people to undergird the economic institution. Over the years, the government's lack of involvement in the economic sector of the society, especially in creating jobs, has led some to assume that the economic institution (capitalism) is more than a creation of man, e.g., it is a divine and untouchable institution. Although a few writers have observed that economic institutions, discrimination based upon race and sex, and attitudes about people in poverty are the creation of human societies, governmental and other leaders tend to approach these problems as if they were unsolvable. To recite Merrill, "The principal problems of our day arise from the inability of man to control the social forces he has set in motion: problems of government, economics, poverty . . ." (p.4). Therefore, the economic system should not be ritualized but critically assessed for developing strategies for eliminating its weaknesses, e.g., high incidence of poverty.

To eliminate poverty within the society that reflects a scarcity of jobs, a strategy needs to be developed that will institutionalize a functional relationship between the private and public sectors. Such a relationship that is noncompetitive with the private sector could provide meaningful and gainful employment for those in poverty as a result of unemployment and underemployment.

Summary and Policy Implications

Racial superiority, manifested in terms of racial discrimination, has become a functional part of the American society. Consequently, a larger percentage of blacks than whites in the society is in poverty regardless of education and skills. To eliminate the disparity between blacks and whites in poverty, local, state and federal governments should maintain and implement strong affirmative action programs. These affirmative action programs should remain in existence until the disproportionate percentage of blacks in poverty has been reduced and/or become equal to that of white Americans. In an economy where there is a low demand for labor, this will mean a slight increase in the percentage of whites in poverty. Because of the possibility of a slight increase in poverty for white Americans, affirmative action programs have been mislabeled as reverse discrimination by many. Although racism is ingrained in the social fibers of the society just as the basic tenets of the Protestant Ethic, it can be overcome through strict adherence to affirmative action programs, regardless of the demands of the market place.

The laissez-faire approach or non-intervention by the federal government in the affairs of citizens emerged at the inception of the new nation. The policy of non-interference in the lives of citizens regardless of their plight was consistent with the notion of individualism, especially self-reliance. Laissez-faire and individualism became functional parts of the American society. From Washington's administration to that of F. D. Roosevelt, those in poverty received little help from the federal government in terms of public assistance. After the federal government began providing some public assistance to those in poverty in the 1930's, governmental initiatives were shaped and molded by historical societal beliefs and values reflecting laissez-faire and self reliance. As a result, public assistance has focused upon minimum subsistence and little upon direct federal effort to create jobs.

What is needed are policies at the state and federal levels that are designed to remove the recipients from poverty by establishing poverty levels high enough so that families can function above poverty. Further, the government should adopt a strategy of creating employment which pays wages above the poverty line, especially in the economically depressed rural areas, and specifically, those areas that cannot attract new industries. This can not be done, however, without the support and assistance of the leaders in the economic sector.

Capitalism or controlled capitalism can generate tremendous wealth, but it also has a history of creating a large incidence of poverty. Because capitalism is based upon the principle of maximizing profits at the local, state, national and international levels, some rural (and urban) areas may be viewed as less profitable than others. Further, technological innovation may also reduce the need for some types of occupations. Moreover, it may not be profitable for the economic system to generate sufficient jobs that pay above poverty wages for everyone who is seeking employment. Consequently, the economy, measured in terms of the G.N.P., may be growing at high rates while 13 to 14 percent of the total population may be in poverty when even the most conservative criteria are utilized. To reduce the needs and frustrations of the unemployed and underemployed workers who are socialized to seek employment, it may be in the best interest of the business community to support mixed economy in which the government and private enterprise would be jointly involved in creating more jobs.

Such a strategy will not only create meaningful jobs within the society for some of those in poverty but will significantly reduce the tax dollars going for Unemployment Insurance, Food Stamps, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. However, the policy can only be implemented with the endorsement and support of the business community. Without their support the strategy will be attacked and labeled as "Un-American" and "Undemocratic." Although there is not a causal relation between a given economic institution such as capitalism and a political institution such as democracy, the general public has been socialized to think that there is. Therefore, a controlled mixed economy can not emerge in this society—regardless of its economic benefits—without the support of the leadership of the business community, or resocialization of the general public. Poverty amidst tremendous wealth does not have to exist in today's society. The barriers that prevent the elimination of poverty in society are socially created by man.

To eliminate poverty, a new set of beliefs and values must emerge which will facilitate changes in the basic institutions in an evolutionary as opposed to revolutionary way. The citizens must be educated to realize that the patterns of interaction in the society and accompanying beliefs and values are social creations. It is the knowledge of the origin and nature of social forces that will eventually put people back in control of their society, a process of demystification of the social order for the utilization and application of reason and science to solve societal problems such as poverty and discrimination.

REFERENCES

Africanus, Leo.
1896 The History and Description of Africa. Translated into English by John Pory. London: Hakluyt Society.

Alvarez, Joseph A.
1971 From Reconstruction to Revolution. New York: Atheneum Press.

Andrist, Ralph K.
1972 George Washington: The Founding Fathers. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. pp 190-196.

Chapter 5

Babbie, Earl R.
1973 The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Batchelder, Alan B.
1971 The Economics of Poverty, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Bennett, Lerone
1966 Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro American, Publishing City. Penguin Books.

Blau, Peter M. and Otis D. Duncan
1967 The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Bryce-Laporte, Ray
1971 "The Slave Plantation: Background to Present Condition of Urban Blacks." *In Race, Change and Urban Society.* Edited by Peter Orleans and Russell Ellis. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Conkins, Paul K.
1967 F.D.R. and The Origins of the Welfare State. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Conrad, Earl
1966 The Invention of the Negro. New York: Paul S. Eriksson, Inc.

Davidson, Basil
1959 A History of West Africa to the 19th Century. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company.

deGraft-Johnson, J.C.
1954 African Glory. New York: Walker and Company.

Draper, J. W.
1876 History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Du Bois, W.E.B.
1935 Black Reconstruction in America. New York: The World Publishing Company.

Franklin, John Hope
1967 From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Galbraith, John K.
1958 The Affluent Society. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

George, Henry
1879 Progress and Poverty. New York: D. Appleton.

Giddens, Anthony
1971 Capitalism and Modern Social Theory. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gilford, D.M. and G.L. Nelson
1981 Rural American in Passage Statistics for Policy. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
Grant, Joanne
1970 Black Protest. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Harbaugh, William H.
1961 Power and Responsibility: The Life and Time of Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy.
Harrington, Michael
1962 The Other America. New York: MacMillian.
Heistand, Dale L.
1970 "Discrimination in Employment". Ann Arbor, Michigan: Publishing Co.
Howes, Candace and A.R. Markusen
1975 "Poverty: A Regional Political Economy Perspective" in *A New Perspective*. Edited by George L. Wilber. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
Hunter, Robert
1906 Poverty. New York: The MacMillan Company.
Hunton, W. A.
1960 Decision in Africa. New York: International Publishers.
Jones, Levi
1974 The Black Family: Its Process of Survival. Nashville, Tennessee: Graduate School of Vanderbilt University.
Jordan, Winthrop D.
1971 White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Lens, Sidney
1969 Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Loucks, William N.
1956 Comparative Economic Systems. 7th Edition. New York: Harper & Row p. 40.
Meissner, Hanna
1966 Poverty in the Affluent Society. New York: Harper & Row.
Merrill, Francis E.
1957 Society and Culture. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Niemi, Albert W.
1975 U.S. Economic History: A Survey of the Major Issues. Chicago: Rand-McNally College Publishing Company.

Nkrumah, Kwame
1970 Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. New York: International Publishers.
Reade, Winwood
1925 The Martyrdom of Man. London: Watts and Company.
Riis, Jacob
1895 How the Other Half Lives. New York: C. Scribner's Sons.
Robertson, Ross M.
1973 History of the American Economy. New York: Harcourt-Brace-Jovanovich, Inc.
Rogers, Harrell R.
1979 Poverty Amid Plenty. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
Schiller, Bradley R.
1976 The Economics of Poverty and Discrimination. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Sobel, Lester A.
1967 Civil Rights 1960-66. New York: Facts on File, Inc.
Siegel, Paul M.
1965 "On the Cost of Being a Negro" Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 35, Winter, p. 4i-57.
Taeuber, Alma and Karl E. Taeuber
1965 Negroes in the Cities. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
Toynbee, Arnold J.
1934 Poverty in a Dual Economy. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Tussing, A. Dale
1975 Poverty in a Dual Economy. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Tylor, E. B.
1871 Primitive Culture. London: John Murray.
Weber, Max
1930 The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London: George Allen and Unwin.
Wells, H. G.
1922 A Short History of the World. New York: The MacMillian Company.
Wendzel, Julius T.
1956 The Dynamics of Capitalism. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers.
White, Leslie A.
1947 "Culturological vs. Psychological Interpretations of Human Behavior", American Sociological Review, 12:686-698, p. 693.

Williams, Eric
1944 Capitalism and Slavery. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Williams, Robin J., Jr.
1970 American Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Woodson, Carter G.
1947 The Negro in our History. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc.
Woodward, C. Vann
1966 The Strange Career of Jim Crow. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 6

Availability, Accessibility and Utilization of Agency Services

Marguerite R. Howie, Lina R. Godfrey, Alton Thompson
and Robert L. Phillips

ABSTRACT

In this Chapter three alternative theoretical considerations are presented to justify the functional-structural approach to measure availability, accessibility and utilization of agency services. From this base, conceptual definitions of availability, accessibility and utilization are formulated. Alternative methodological considerations are discussed. A pilot study of the unobtrusive measures technique and a pre-test of the survey instrument led to the development of the agency directors' questionnaire which was administered by mail in each of the ten participating southern states. A survey of agency clients was conducted by trained interviewers.

The data revealed that (1) agency directors placed great weight on media while the clients indicated that friends and/or relatives constitute the prime sources of information; (2) the Commission on Aging, Food Stamp Program and Social Security Administration served the largest number of clients while Farmer's Home Administration, Veterans Administration and Mental Health tended to serve the smallest number of clients; and (3) the agency directors identified inadequate staff and inadequate capital as their most pressing needs.

Introduction: Theoretical Considerations

Any study of such abstractions as availability, accessibility and utilization should be considered within the framework of a congruent theoretical base. To circumvent the labeling process, which sometimes surfaces in behavioral science research, a theoretical perspective is needed to operationalize the concepts which are the foundation of this research.

Symbolic interactionism, a pragmatic approach fathered by George Herbert Mead, is a way of talking about people in terms of the "situation" (Kloss, Roberts and Dorn, 1976:74). Since the concern here is with the "levels and patterns of living" of a particular category, namely "people in low income areas of the rural south," the particular approach would not be suited to explain the "situation."

Relevant to the aforementioned concern is what Charles A. Murray (1982:4) refers to as official poverty. "Official poverty" is the yardstick for defining the situation by the Bureau of Census and the dimensions are predetermined by an external criterion. Therefore, what the Bureau of Census defines as "real" will be real in its "consequences." Ergo, from the social interactionist perspective, it would be futile to engage in research based on the following objectives:

1. To examine the relationship of regional, state and local agency resources to the availability, accessibility and utilization of agency services.
2. To examine the relationship of the availability and accessibility of agency services to knowledge and attitudes toward the agency in the community.
3. To examine the relationship of knowledge and attitude toward the agency in the community and utilization of the agency services by limited resource families.

Interhuman behavior examined by the macrocosm that "defines the situation" is nihilistic. The microcosm of the limited resource people of the rural south would have no selfhood beyond that viewed in the "macro-looking-glass."

Radical-critical sociology as an approach is imbued with reformism at one swing of the pendulum to conflict at the other extreme. Although Fromm (1965), Harrington (1962) and Mills (1959) are role models for triggering action in the political arena for instigating the establishment of programs allegedly designed to prevent poverty and in academe to stimulate sociology students to become critical, much of their work has been interpreted as humanistic. Humanism, *perse*, has merit, but the idealist intent is prone to obviate the role of the people themselves who are the victims of injustice and inequality. At the extreme "swing of the pendulum," theorists of the Marxist persuasion have used radical-critical sociology to foster revolutionary causes. Research objectives in this study negate Marxist predictions.

Structural-functionalism is a holistic approach to the study of society. According to Davis and Moore (1945:242), "no society is classless or unstratified." Function is not only a "system determined" but a "system maintaining" activity (Merton, 1981). Thus, in the Davisian sense, functionalism "relates the parts of society to the whole" and "relates one part to another." (1981) Critics of Davis claim that he posits that every sociologist is a functionalist. However, when functionalism is examined within the societal framework, one moves it into the structural sphere of which Robert K. Merton is a proponent. That is, functions are to be viewed as "social procedures which help maintain the system" (Merton, 1957:21). If social functions have "observable objective consequences," they can be measured as either functional or dysfunctional.

The structural-functional approach offers measures for examination of the "relationships" postulated in the objectives of this study, where the findings in this microcosm of the poor are untenable with the macrocosm (the system), then there is a basis for challenging the effectiveness of the universe which creates the socio-economic institutions under which the poor are destined to function.

According to Bailey (1982:511), "survival is just one level of the society's level of living." It seems valid that the potential level of living of any society should not be so structured that persistent poverty exists. There is a mandate for the maintenance of "a normal" or "healthy" state (Hemple, 1959:294). Research results which converge can best be measured in terms of the functionality of the tested concepts—availability, accessibility and utilization—within the macro-structure.

Conceptual Definitions of Concepts

Based on the previously enumerated research objectives, consensus on the conceptual definitions were developed as follows:

Availability: the amount of various types of services an agency can provide at any given time in relation to needs of the client population, adequacy of staff resources, and sufficiency of standards and requirements for participation.

Accessibility: the extent to which each person in need of service is assured an equal chance of geographic, physical, transportable, financial, and visible attainability.

Utilization: the use of an agency's service(s) by an eligible population.

A re-evaluation of these definitions indicate that they coincide with the practicality of the use of the agency services under the dimensions of

Title XX programs. To operationalize the concepts, the situs focused on two publics, the agency directors and the people who live in the target counties in the southern region.

Alternative Methodological Considerations

Problems concerning the mechanics of operationalizing the concepts and establishing the research mechanics were the initial hurdles to overcome. Howie, Phillips and Underwood (1982) treat these issues as follows:

> 1. *Problems of defining an eligible population.*
>
>   In order to find out whether a sampled respondent is eligible for an agency service means asking that person the same questions the agency would ask if that person were applying for services. The interpersonal problem is that there is essentially no contact mutuality between the interviewer and the respondent. p. 30.
> 2. *Problem of information verification*
>
>   The nature of the research interview contract leaves the researcher no options to require anything, certainly not verification of income, marital status, savings, number of drinks taken per day, number of visits made to the mental health clinic or psychiatrist, or the like. p. 31.
> 3. *Problem of agency protection*
>
>   Not only does the agency have a self-imposed mandate and the legal obligation to protect its clients, it also has a set of political needs, one of which is to maintain an image or reputation among persons ultimately responsible for its funding. This is not a simple task, for the gatekeepers of the agency's funds are not of one mind. On the one hand, there is the conservative ideology which maintains that the agency rolls should be purged and the idle loafers' sent to work and made to provide goods and services at the going rate. On the other hand, there is the liberal ideology that agencies are not doing enough: they should expand and upgrade their services. Caught between these two opposing forces, agencies must operate to justify their existence. It is understandable, therefore, that agency directors are reluctant to give out any information which is not absolutely required. In the wrong hands, those statistics can be turned into a case against them: they are helping too many; they are helping too few; they are turning down qualified applicants; they are helping those who don't need help; they are squandering public funds; they are unresponsive to the

> needs of the poor; they are increasing the numbers of the lazy; they are insensitive to their clients, and so forth. p. 32.
>
> 4. *Problem of agency data collection methods*
>
> Numerous problems present themselves when a reseacher and agency personnel finally do get together. The agency may be prohibited from asking certain kinds of questions, the answers to which provide the very data in which the researcher is interested, such as race, marital status, and the like. Or the agency may not consider data relevant and may not ask the question at all. Still another problem relates to the storage of data so that it can be retrieved. p. 32.

Having elucidated the problems, an alternative methodological plan to use unobtrusive measures evolved. Webb and associates (1966) define unobtrusive measures as "measures that do not require the cooperation of the respondent and do not themselves contaminate the response" (p. 2). Howie, et. al (1982) utilized this technique and their experiment demonstrated that instruments can be constructed to be used via unobtrusive measures. Moreover, the results lend themselves to statistical analysis. The researchers were able to assess the extent to which the comfort of the clients is considered by the agency personnel, the quality of the agency resources, and the attitudinal behavior of the agency staff. Although unobtrusive techniques have merit, the following limitations exist:

1. different observers, unless they are carefully trained, may rate the same phenomena differently (1982:35);
2. in order to remain unobtrusive, it may be important that the agency staff ask what he or she is actually doing there. If an inquiry is made about why he or she is there it is necessary to claim that "I am waiting for someone." Sometimes this can result in the embarrassment or moral discomfort of the observer (1982:35);
3. observation fails to allow one to know what goes on behind closed doors (1982:35);
4. frequently, what the observer describes is not so much through a cognitive screen as it is through an affective screen (1982:35), and
5. an insecure agency director or supervisor may become threatened by the discovery that her/his agency is being observed unobtrusively (1982:35).

Yet, this pilot study did demonstrate the degree of success of unobtrusive measures as an appropriate methodology for observing availability, accessibility, and utilization of agency services and satisfaction of clients with them. Moreover, in this intrastate pilot study which applied unobtrusive techniques, the information was equally as measureable and reliable as data obtained through a questionnaire survey. In addition, specifics that could not be measured by a questionnaire survey with validity because of the subjectivity of the respondent (agency personnel) were measurable by social science reseachers trained in the techniques of observation.

In summation, the unobtrusive observer, through the use of (1) the Agency Log Sheet, (2) the Client Log Sheet and (3) the Researcher Log Sheet was able to assess such factors as the following:

1. attitudes of the clients toward treatment by the paraprofessional and professional personnel in the respective agencies;
2. effectiveness of services rendered;
3. display of feelings of hostility or discrimination or the lack of the same as expressed in verbal and nonverbal language;
4. comfort in waiting by seating arrangements, decor, music, etc.;
5. adequacy and cleanliness of the restrooms;
6. provisions to accommodate needs of the handicapped, and
7. proximity and adequacy of parking facilities.

However, parsimony in securing a sufficient number of professional behavioral science researchers experienced in the use of unobtrusive observational techniques was the major reason for rejecting this approach to the study of agency services. The second concern was that policymakers on the local, state, and national levels would be more familiar with and receptive to findings based on traditional survey techniques. Since one of the general objectives of the research proposal is "to generate policy recommendations and define strategies for the reduction of poverty," it was feasible to eliminate the option of using unobtrusive measures as a measurement technique.

A Tri-state Comparative Analysis of Data on Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and the Region

Primary units of analyses and comparisons were concentrated on Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina, hereafter referred to as the tristate area. These were selected as the primary units of analyses and comparison because they had the highest number of agencies returning the agency directors' questionnaire. Adhering to a strategy suggested by Dillman regarding mail and telephone surveys (1978), 270 questionnaires were mailed to the agency directors throughout the region. Of this number, 78.1% (N = 211) were returned to comprise the final data set. For the tri-state area, there were 75 usable questionnaires or 92.5% (N = 81) of the total. In addition, comparable data on agency services from a section of the individual questionnaires were used to augment the agency directors' data set. In the next section of this Chapter, a comprehensive discussion of the findings is followed by a summary. Finally, a concluding section discusses the major issues that should be faced in light of the results of the findings and the distribution of the programs.

Utilization and Availablility of Services

In terms of agency/program utilization, the clients in both the tri-state area and the region, tend to use the Food Stamp Program and the Social Security Administration more than they do the services of the other agencies. The rankings of the aforementioned agencies were first and second, respectively; however, large standard deviations associated with the means suggest that there is much variability with respect to the number of clients each agency serves per month. For example, the number of clients which the Food Stamp Programs serviced fluctuated between 0 and 8,190 during any given month; and for the region, the number of clients varied between 0 and 7,890.

An examination of the mean number of full-time employees is provided in Figure 1 in the form of ratios. In Arkansas, the ratio of clients to full-time employees for the Commission on Aging was about six times larger than the ratio of clients to full-time employees for the Employment Security Commission. In South Carolina, the agencies with the two highest clients/full-time employees ratio were the Employment Security Commission (109.2) and the Farmer's Home Administration (92.5). The Food Stamp Program (127.1), the Farmer's Home Administration (88.3) and the Commission on Aging (88.9) have the highest ratios of clients to full-time employees in North Carolina. In general, the tri-state area did not compare favorably with the region; specifically, only three of the agencies (Food Stamp Program, Social

Figure 6-1. Ratio of Mean Number of Clients Per Month to Average Number of Full-Time Employees

Figure 1. Ratio of Mean Number of Clients Per Month to Average Number of Full-Time Employees

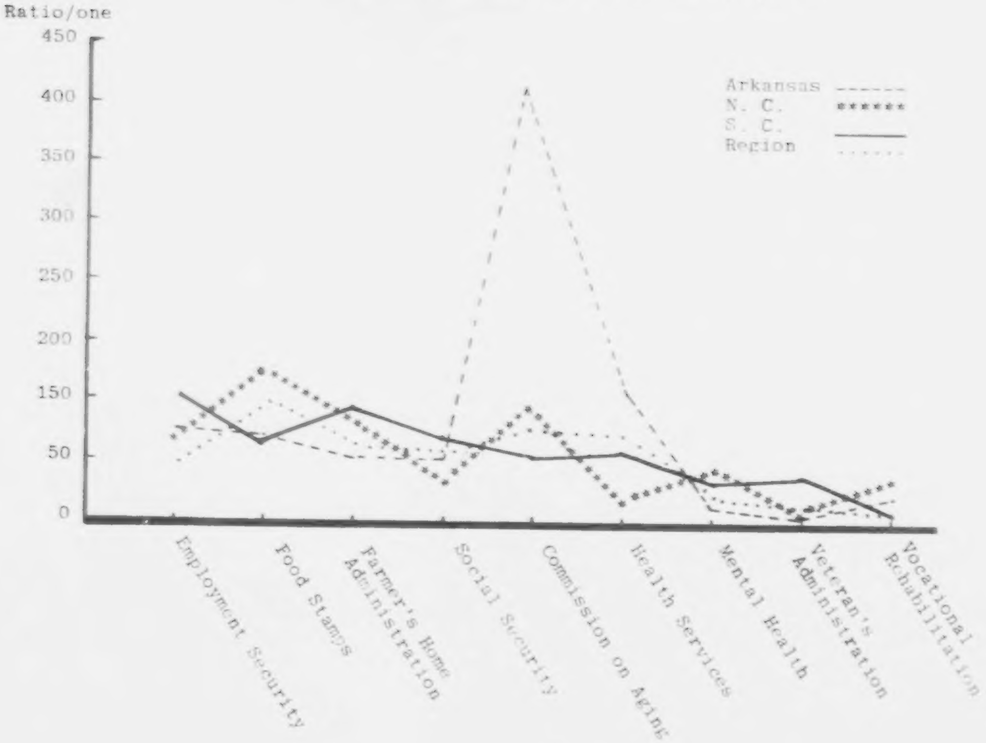


Table 6-1. Staffing of agencies by number of full-time and part-time employees

Agency	Arkansas				South Carolina				North Carolina				Tristate				Region			
	FT		PT		FT		PT		FT		PT		FT		PT		FT		PT	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Emp. Sec.[1]	67	3.0	15	7.4	26	1.1	4	1.9	32	1.4	3	1.5	125	5.4	22	10.7	355	5.7	48	7.5
Food St.[2]	19	0.8	1	0.5	127	5.5	—	—	83	3.6	49	23.8	229	9.9	50	24.3	420	6.7	52	8.2
Fm. H. Ad.[3]	6	0.2	2	0.9	19	0.8	1	0.5	12	0.5	3	1.5	37	1.6	6	2.9	106	1.7	19	3.0
Soc. Sec.[4]	107	4.6	6	2.9	52	2.2	6	2.9	88	3.8	5	2.4	247	10.7	17	8.2	780	12.5	57	8.9
C.O.A.[5]	22	1.0	6	2.9	16	0.7	40	19.4	4	0.2	6	2.9	42	1.8	52	25.2	207	3.3	180	28.2
H. Ser.[6]	7	0.3	5	2.4	65	2.8	4	1.9	64	2.7	8	3.9	136	5.9	17	8.2	580	9.3	88	13.8
M. Hlth[7]	193	8.4	11	5.3	191	8.3	14	6.8	4	0.2	8	3.9	390	16.9	33	16.0	859	13.7	146	22.9
Vet. Adm.[8]	—	—	9	4.4	5	0.2	—	—	1	0.04	—	—	6	0.24	9	4.4	1005	16.1	14	2.2
Voc. Reh.[9]	43	1.9	—	—	1033	44.7	—	—	24	1.0	—	—	1100	47.6	—	—	1945	31.0	34	5.3
Total	446	20.2	55	26.7	1534	66.3	69	33.5	312	13.44	82	39.9	2312	100.0	206	100.0	6257	100.0	638	100.0

FT = Full-time
PT = Part-time
Emp. Sec.[1] = Employment Security
Food St.[2] = Food Stamps
Fm. H. Ad.[3] = Farmers Home Admin.
Soc. Ces.[4] = Social Security
C.O.A.[5] = Commission of Aging
H. Ser.[6] = Health Services
M. Hlth.[7] = Mental Health
Vet. Adm.[8] = Veterans Admin.
Voc. Reh.[9] = Vocational Rehab.

Security Administration and Health Services) in the tri-state area had lower client/full-time staff ratios than that of the region. The co-efficient of correlation (Pearson's r) between the tri-state area and regional ratios was 0.66, a value that did not achieve statistical significance.

Also salient in Figure 1 is the low ratio of clients to full-time staff members for Vocational Rehabilitation in both the tri-state area and the region. The high or low ratio for Vocational Rehabilitation, may be attributed to the descriptive qualifications delimiting their clientele (i.e., eligibility requirements).

The number of full and part-time employees of the social service agencies is presented in Table 1. Mental Health Services had the largest number of full-time staff members in Arkansas.

Vocational Rehabilitation had the largest number in South Carolina while the Social Security Administration had the largest number in North Carolina. In comparing the tri-state area to the region, Vocational Rehabilitation had the largest percent of full-time staff members for both sectors. This is largely due to the comparatively high number of full-time employees of Vocational Rehabilitation in South Carolina (N = 1033). Excluding Vocational Rehabilitation, Mental Health Services in the tri-state and Veterans Administration in the region employed the largest number of full-time personnel. The Commission on Aging constituted the modal category of part-time employees for the tri-state and the region. By contrast, the Farmer's Home Administration in the tri-state area and the Veterans Administration in the region had the fewest number of part-time personnel.

In short, Spearman's rho coefficients of correlation or the degree of association between the rank order of all agencies with full-time employees for the tri-state area and the region is ±0.52 while the correlation between the rank order of part-time employees is ±0.71. Thus, although the numbers and percentages in Table 1 may vary, there is a degree of correspondence or similarity between the tri-state and the region.

Table 2 contains the number, percentage, mean and standard deviation of clients per month by agency type for each state, the tri-state area and the region. In the three state area, Food Stamp, Employment Security and Social Security service the most clients. Overall, the Commission on Aging served the largest number of clientele of the agencies in Arkansas while the Food Stamp Program served more individuals in North and South Carolina. On the average, 2,771 persons received services from the Commission on Aging while the average number of persons receiving food coupons in North and South Carolina was 3,520 and 3,750, respectively. By contrast, the agencies serving the fewest number of clients were the Farmer's Home Administration in Arkansas ($\mathbf{x} = 101$), Veterans' Administration in South Carolina ($\mathbf{x} = 77.6$) and Mental Health in North Carolina ($\mathbf{x} = 75$).

Questions pertaining to both past and present use of agency services were asked to determine the degree of utilization by persons in the tri-state area and the region. Of the clients utilizing the agencies, Food Stamps ranked first followed by Social Security. The Commission on Aging was least utilized followed by Mental Health (see Figure 2). A comparison of "below poverty" and "above poverty" users indicated that Food Stamps are most utilized by respondents below poverty, and Social Security by respondents above poverty.

Availability

The mean rank and the variability of ranks, given to the agencies' most pressing needs are presented in Table 3. In general, a Spearman's rho co-efficient of +1.0 indicates a perfect, positive degree of association between the ranks of these needs for the tri-state and the region. That is, inadequate staff was identified as the most important need, and "inadequate capital" was identified as the second most pressing need. The remaining needs, in order of their importance were transportation, better facilities and better equipment, (A value of "1" was used to indicate an agency's most pressing need; thus, the lower the rank, the more pressing the need. Given the similarity of mean ranks of these needs for the tri-state and the region an important question becomes; "are the ranks of these needs within the respective areas statistically different?". The value of 37.1 (tri-state) and 66.0 (region) for Friedman's tests are statistically significant at an alpha of .001. These values indicate that agency directors do not perceive these needs as being equally important. However, in South Carolina, the mean ranks of the five needs only achieved statistical significance at the .05 alpha level.

The rankings of the agencies' modes of publicity are presented in Table 4. Newspapers were the chief medium used by the agencies in the tri-state area and the region for advertising their services. Radio, television and brochures were ranked second and third among the modes of publicity used by the agencies.

Table 6-2. Number, percentage, mean and standard deviation of clients served per month by agency

Agency	Arkansas		$\bar{x}$	South Carolina		$\bar{x}$	North Carolina		$\bar{x}$	Tristate		$\bar{x}$	Region		$\bar{x}$
	Number	Percent	(SD)	Number	Percent	(SD)	Number	Percent	(SD)	Number	Percent	(SD)	Number	Percent	(SD)
Emp. Sec.[1]	4500	18.6	1500 (500.0)	2850	9.7	950 (1353.6)	2500	13.2	833 (473.0)	9850	13.5	1094 (819.5)	22216	10.5	740 (753.0)
Food St.[2]	1300	5.4	413 (156.2)	7500	25.5	3750 (1767.7)	10560	55.6	3520 (3880.0)	19320	26.7	2424 (2730.2)	46120	21.9	2562 (2630.0)
Fm. H. Ad.[3]	304	1.3	101 (98.0)	1750	5.9	583 (803.6)	1060	5.6	353 (390.0)	3114	4.3	346 (495.0)	6723	3.2	240 (330.0)
Soc. Sec.[4]	4950	20.4	1650 (606.2)	3200	10.8	1067 (901.8)	2700	14.2	900 (557.0)	10850	14.9	1206 (699.3)	44900	21.3	1870 (1932.0)
C.O.A.[5]	6814	28.1	2771 (2249.3)	873	3.0	291 (191.8)	338	1.8	113 (105.0)	3025	11.0	892 (1534.1)	16460	7.8	823 (1203.0)
H. Ser.[6]	799	3.3	266 (159.1)	3200	10.9	1067 (1289.7)	850	4.5	283 (302.0)	4849	6.7	539 (775.7)	34911	16.6	1246 (1721.0)
M. Hlth.[7]	2547	10.5	849 (849.6)	5200	17.6	1733 (461.8)	150	0.8	75 (86.0)	7897	10.9	987 (867.6)	17471	8.3	728 (955.0)
Vet. Adm.[8]	2650	10.9	833 (192.9)	190	0.6	63 (77.6)	401	2.1	— (—)	3241	4.4	463 (428.1)	11981	5.7	599 (875.0)
Voc. Reh.[9]	360	1.5	120 (62.5)	4705	16.0	4705 (—)	434	2.2	145 (134.0)	5499	7.6	786 (1730.5)	9900	4.7	521 (1154.0)
Total	24454	100.0	895 +	29468	100.0	1228 +	18993	100.0	778 +	72715	100.0	971 +	210682	100.0	1037 +

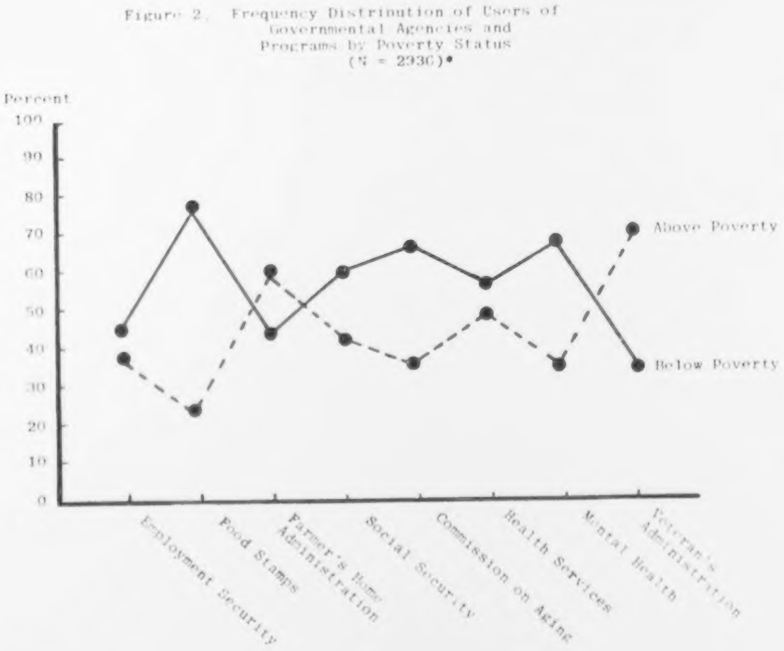
+ Grand Mean

Emp. Sec.[1] = Employment Security
Food St.[2] = Food Stamps
Fm. H. Ad.[3] = Farmers Home Adm.

Soc. Sec.[4] = Social Security
C.O.A.[5] = Commission on Aging
H. Ser.[6] = Health Service

M. Hlth[7] = Mental Health
Vet. Adm.[8] = Veterans Adm.
Voc. Reh.[9] = Vocational Rehab.

Figure 6-2. Frequency Distribution of Users of Governmental Agencies and Programs by Poverty Status (N = 2936)*



*N refers to total number of services used; not the total sample size.

Table 6-3. Mean ranking of agencies' most pressing needs

Pressing Need	Arkansas		South Carolina		North Carolina		Tristate		Region	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Adequate Staff	1.95	1.43	2.00	1.27	2.09	0.97	2.01	1.22	1.89	1.23
Better Facilities	3.68	0.95	2.33	1.37	3.11	1.37	3.10	1.32	3.06	1.35
Transportation	2.66	1.29	2.23	1.30	2.60	1.31	2.44	1.26	2.32	1.19
Equipment	3.92	0.95	4.40	0.84	4.46	0.66	4.25	0.84	4.05	0.92
Capital	1.65	0.86	2.71	1.14	2.11	1.41	2.12	1.22	2.12	1.20
Friedman's test statistic	18.5 (∂ = 0.001)		10.6 (∂ = 0.03)		18.5 (∂ = 0.001)		37.1 (∂ = 0.000)		66.0 (∂ = 0.000)	

Table 6-4. Rankings of agency's mode of publicity

Mode of Publicity	Arkansas			South Carolina			North Carolina			Tristate			Region		
	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
Newspaper	6	5	5	7	4	—	8	4	3	21	13	8	56	30	16
Radio/TV	2	3	7	6	6	1	3	8	4	11	17	12	26	35	27
Brochures	6	4	3	1	2	4	5	2	7	12	8	14	21	24	36
Referrals	6	4	3	1	—	3	2	—	4	9	4	10	22	23	26
Friends/Relatives	2	7	4	2	—	4	1	4	1	5	11	9	21	17	17
Social Serv. Agency	1	3	3	—	3	1	—	1	—	1	7	4	11	16	15
Don't Publicize	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	8	11
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	4	5

Consequently, it is apparent that the first, second and third choices by agency directors in the tri-state area and in the region were identical. Also, evident in Table 4 is that the agency directors in Arkansas identify newspapers, brochures and referrals as their chief publicity media. When clients were asked "How did you hear about the service . . ." of the agencies, the most frequent response was "relative or friend," followed by "referrals" and social service agencies. This finding is similar to the information provided by the agency directors except the latter indicated newspapers were the chief medium used by the agencies to advertise their services. Or, to put it another way, the agency directors contend that the media, particularly newspapers and radio/tv, are the chief means of informing the target population of the agency services while the clientele indicate that they are acquainted with the services by friends or relatives.

Accessibility

When directors from the nine respective agencies were asked about the provision of transportation services for their clients, one-third of the agencies provided transportation for their clients in Arkansas and North Carolina, while approximately one-fourth of the agencies in South Carolina offered transportation. Data reveal that the Employment Security Commission, Farmer's Home Administration and Social Securtiy Administration do not provide transportation while the remaining agencies attempt to accommodate their clients' transportation needs. Regionally, like Arkansas and North Carolina, about one-third of the agencies offer transportation services.

The number of miles an individual had to travel to obtain agency services, the mode of transportation and the cost of transportation were examined to determine the accessibility of the agencies.

In terms of distance traveled, the majority of users indicated that they travel "7-10 miles" or "greater than 20 miles" to obtain agency services. It is interesting to note that the Food Stamp Program was the most accessible while the Veterans Administration was the least accessible, a finding that is obviously a function of the type of service provided. The data also revealed that most of the users (77%), except those receiving services from the Commission on Aging and Mental Health, used their "own transportation" to get to the agencies. In addition to using their own transportation, about twenty-two percent of those who utilize the Commission on Aging also cited "agency transportation" while twenty-nine percent of those who use Mental Health Services cited "relative or friend."

In regard to the cost of transportation to the agencies, the mean cost was found to be $5.37. In summary, the data revealed that the distance traveled to the agencies varied considerably and users tend to need transportation which proved to be quite costly relative to their economic status.

Summary

This Chapter presented three alternative theoretical considerations to justify the functional-structural approach to measure availability, accessibility and utilization within the macro-structure of the economy in which the rural South is an entity. From this base, conceptual definitions of availability, accessibility and utilization were formulated.

After consideration of the alternative methodological techniques, it was decided to develop an agency directors' questionnaire and an individual survey instrument which was adminstered (according to social science survey techniques) in each of the ten participating southern states.

In describing, comparing and contrasting the responses provided by the agency directors and users (both above and below poverty), the data revealed remarkable consistency on selected variables in the tri-state area and the region for both agency directors' responses and users' responses. The wide disparity between the two modes of disseminating information points to a crucial issue in regard to the dissemination process. In regard to the dissemination of information by the agencies, according to the respondents this information failed to flow through the channels used by them. Consequently, in the target population, users and prospective users tend to remain uninformed. The agency directors placed considerable emphasis on media while the clients indicated that friends and/or relatives constituted the prime sources of their information. Therefore, the strategies used by the agencies to publicize their services were found to lack relevancy for the majority of limited resource persons. Alternative strategies might include: outreach programs, workshops or institutes for community lay leaders, notices/ flyers in establishments such as barbershops, beauty salons, neighorhood grocery stores, funeral homes, employment security offices and intra and interagency information exchange networks.

The number of full-time and part-time employees varied among the agencies in the tri-state area and the region; however, similarity was shown in their distribution. That is, when the number of full-time and part-time employees were ranked by agency within the tri-state area and within the region, the degree of association was moderate to high.

The number of clients served by these agencies varied considerably within and between the agencies in both the tri-state and region. In general, the Commission of Aging, Food Stamp Program and Social Security Administation served the largest number of clients while Farmer's Home Administration, Veterans Administration and Mental Health tended to serve the smallest number of clients.

The agency directors identified inadequate staff and inadequate capital as their most pressing needs. The average ranking of these needs in the tri-state and region was identified. Statistically significant differences were found in the mean ranking of these needs in Arkansas, North Carolina, the tristate, and the region, but not in South Carolina. That is, difference in these ranks cannot be attributed to chance.

Further, there were similar response distributions on questions with respect to transportation services in the tri-state area and the region. To be specific, all of the agencies, except Employment Security, Farmer's Home Administration and Social Security attempted to provide transportation for their clients; the average distance travelled was 11.5 miles and the average cost of the services was $5.37 per trip.

Finally, although the data do not permit the use of inferential statistics, specific analogies and recommendations can be made. First, the greatest disparity between the number of clients to full-time employees was found in Food Stamps, Employment Security, Farmer's Home Administration, and the Commission on Aging. On the surface, it may be assumed that each of these agencies is inadequately staffed. However, there is a probability that the data fail to depict a reliable assessment for both the Farmer's Home Administration and the Commission on Aging. In the Farmer's Home Administration, the caseload was high. However, based on client records on file, it seems that the clients do not use the personnel of the agency with a reasonable degree of frequency (i.e., weekly or monthly). In regard to the Commission on Aging, ancillary services such as arts and craft classes, or film demonstrations tend to escalate the client/staff ratio since a single member would be serving a group of clientele within a given time frame. Conversely, Food Stamp and Employment Security services are rendered on a one-to-one basis. Therefore, it is reasonable to recommend need assessment surveys in the latter two agencies to justify requests for increased staff in budgetary allocations.

Second, the agencies are not utilizing the most appropriate means of communication to reach clients and prospective clients. The clientele is not attuned to the communication wave-lengths implemented by the agencies. Techniques to use present clients as effective liaison communicators need to be made a part of policy strategies.

Third, in regard to accessibility, adequate staff emerged as the most pressing need of agencies followed by better facilities and transportation. Shortcomings in the transportation situation were severe as the majority of users travel lengthy distances, yet only one-third of the agencies (72 of the 211) provided transportation. None of the Employment Security and Social Security agencies offer transportation services and the average cost for it is exorbitant. Therefore, it is logical to assure that policies and budgets are weak in addressing the transportation needs of clients.

Availability, accessibility and utilization of services are viable determinants of agency effectiveness. Agencies are crucial in addressing the needs of people and to the limited resource populace in particular. If the dilemmas posited by poverty in a democratic, capitalistic society are to be quelched, programs and agencies designed to alleviate this phenomenon must adhere to the needs of the people as identified by them.

REFERENCES

Bailey, Kenneth D.

1982 "Post-functional social systems analysis." The Sociological Quarterly 23 (Autumn): 509-526.

Davis, Kingsley

1981 The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, p. 445 in Don Martindale (Second Edition). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Davis, Kingsley and Wilbert E. Moore

1945 "Some principles of stratification." American Sociology Review 2 (April): 242-249.

Dillman, Don A.

1978 Mail and Telephone Surveys. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Fromm, Erich
1965 The Sane Society. New York: Fawcett World Library.

Harrington, Michael
1962 The Other America. New York: The MacMillian Co.

Hemple, Carl G.
1959 The logic functional analysis. Pp. 271-307 in Llewellyn Gross, ed., Symposium in Sociological Theory. New York: Harper and Row.

Howie, Marguerite Rogers, Robert L. Phillips and Kathleen Underwood
1982 "Evaluating community services: A case of unobtrusive measures." Journal of the Community Development Society 13 (2): 30-41.

Kloss, Robert Marsh, Ron E. Roberts, and Dean S. Dorn
1976 Sociology With a Human Face. Saint Louis, Missouri: The C. V. Mosby Co.

Merton, Robert E.
1957 Social Theory & Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
1981 The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, p. 444 in Don Martindale (Second Edition). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mills, C. Wright
1959 Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press.

Murray, Charles A.
1982 "Two wars against poverty: economic growth and the great society." Public Interest 69 (Fall): 3-16.

Webb, Eugene J., D. T. Cambell, R. D. Schwartz and L. Sechrest
1966 Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co.

Chapter 7

Clients' Perceptions Of Satisfaction With And Discrimination By Selected Governmental Agencies

Lina R. Godfrey and Hettie B. Oldham

ABSTRACT

In this Chapter, the services of eight governmental agencies to the rural population in ten southern states are analyzed within a functionalist theoretical perspective. The functional/dysfunctional approach is used to identify formal client surveys conducted by the agencies and respondents satisfactions and perceptions of existing discrimination. These functions contribute to the stability of the social system with regard to its purposes and consequences. Data were collected from directors of eight federal and state agencies and heads of households by the use of an agency director's questionnaire and an individual survey instrument. Analyses of data are based on the responses provided by the agencies directors and respondents. Results of data analyzed provide new information on the interaction of agency directors and respondents with regard to directors' formal evaluations and clients' conceptions of satisfaction with services received and their discernment of any age, sex, or racial discriminatory practices generated by the agencies.

Introduction

In this Chapter an analysis is made of the social programs of eight specific governmental agencies, namely: Employment Security Commission (ESC), Food Stamps (FS), Farmer's Home Administration (FmHA), Social Security Administration (SSA), Commission on Aging (CoA), Health Services (HS), Mental Health (MH) and Veterans Administration (VA). The focus is on the satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the aforementioned agencies as expressed by low income heads of households residing in South Carolina (SC), North Carolina (NC), Alabama (AL), Mississippi (MS), Arkansas (AR), Georgia (GA), Florida (FL), Virginia (VA), Tennessee (TN) and Kentucky (KY). By analyzing the process of the functioning and dysfunctioning of these agencies as perceived by rural heads of households, better insights may be obtained in regard to the adequacy of agency services to the rural poor. Although difficult, it is important to obtain knowledge of the structural concept of the givers and the perceptual concepts of the receivers of these several agencies before remedies for agency improvements are proposed. Since research without theory can produce a collection of facts that are meaningless, the structural-functional approach has been utilized as the theoretical framework in this analysis.

Merton (1967) argues that the various parts of a society, such as the state, the economy, or the family, are interdependent and contribute to its survival. His basic approach to any feature of society, such as education or religion, is to ask what "function" or effect it has in maintaining the social system as a whole. He concluded that education has the function of ensuring social continuity by transmitting cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. Parsons (1951) argues that every society has a structure consisting of interrelated parts, such as institutions, statutes, roles, and norms and that each of these has a function in maintaining the stability of the society as a whole under ideal conditions. He claims that society has a tendency to be in balance or equilibrium with its various elements smoothly organized into a stable system. The society works because all the parts fit together and serve their functions. This "structural functionalist" approach is generally referred to as "functionalism". When social problems arise in this organized system of functionalism, the system becomes "dysfunctional" in certain respects; that is, it begins negative rather than positive effects elsewhere in the society. Consequently, the concept of functionalism/dysfunctionalism is a useful approach in examining the functions of governmental social programs and the conceptions of both the agents (givers) and the individuals (users). In using this approach, the perceptions of users' satisfactions with the agencies will be examined in assessing what function or effect these agencies have in maintaining the social system as a whole.

Postulate of the Functional Unity of Society

Radcliffe-Brown in Merton's book (1967; p. 79-80) puts the postulate of the functional unity of society in explicit terms:

> The function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to the total social life as the functioning of the total social system. Such a view implies that a social system (the total social structure of a society together with the totality of social usages, in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we may speak of as a functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated.

It is important to note, however, that social usages may be functional for some groups and dysfunctional for others in the same society. Merton (1967) asserts that the theoretic framework of functional analysis requires that there be specification of the units for which a given social or cultural item is functional, and it must allow for a given item having diverse consequences, functional and dysfunctional, for individuals, for subgroups, and for the more inclusive social structure. Consequently, one assumption that underlies this investigation is that the effective use of selected governmental services by the rural poor will contribute to functional unity and harmony in the social system. Also, it should be noted that this assumption is invalid to the extent that the services provided are inadequate or inappropriate in terms of the needs, problems and aspirations of the clients.

Concepts Used In This Study

Following are definitions of certain concepts which are important to the functional analysis of services designed to benefit the rural poor.

Functions are defined as observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system.

Dysfunctions are defined as observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of a given system. Any situation, condition or event may have both functional and dysfunctional consequences, giving rise to the problem of evolving canons for assessing the net balance of the aggregate of consequences (Merton, 1967).

Client satisfaction is defined as expressions by the clients indicating that their felt needs were met by the agency in a manner considered acceptable by them.

Welfare or public assistance programs are defined as services having as their primary function the provision of some minimum level of benefits for people who receive less than adequate income from other sources. Included are cash assistance programs as provided by the SSA and state programs of general assistance which provide commodities, vouchers, and credits or reimbursements for the cost of food, medical care and housing. Using the SSA "set" official poverty line defining what it considers the minimal income required for subsistence level living, a Census study (1980) indicated that the number of Americans living in poverty rose from 31.8 million (14.0 percent) in 1971 to 34.4 million (15.0 percent) in 1980. The 1980 percentage was the highest since 1965. The largest single category of poor families consisted of households headed by women representing 36.3 percent of the poverty population. Also, the South remains the area with the largest population of poor individuals. Not only do the southern states have the highest percentage of people below poverty, they also have a greater number of SSA recipients (43.0 percent) than does any other geographic region (Census, 1980).

Discrimination may be defined as any policy or practice that is fair on its surface but has a disproportionate effect on a protected class (example, minorities and women). It cannot be justified by business necessity or by distinguished qualities by discerning or making a difference in treatment in favor of a particular class or group in disregard of individual merit (U.S. HEW, No (OE) 7, 1977). As stated in case studies on human rights and fundamental freedoms (Makeielski, 1976), discriminatory practices fall into patterns of legal discrimination, human welfare discrimination or some combination of the two. In the area of social welfare discrimination, references are made to those actions or non-actions by public or private agencies which harm the physical well-being of minority persons because of their minority status. Housing, the provision of public services, the availability of health care and educational opportunities are all areas in which discrimination can occur. The foregoing patterns of discrimination are used as operational definitions in this study.

Arthur S. Fleming, chairman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) studied unreasonable discrimination on the basis of age in federally supported programs. The commission pointed out that older people desperately need certain federally supported services and benefits, but often cannot get them. Consequently, Fleming called for a vigorous and unequivocal implementation of the Old Age Discrimination Act of 1975. Discrimination on the basis of age in the delivery of federally supported services and benefits existed to some extent in federal programs examined. Many of the problems of governmental and social agencies of the United States Social Welfare system relate to the goals of equity, adequacy, and efficiency. That is, people should be treated in a similar manner (equity); programs should provide benefits that give all households an income above the poverty level (adequacy), and all programs should contain incentives to substitute work for welfare wherever possible (efficiency). The persistency of poverty testifies to the fact that the goal of adequate benefits fails to be achieved. These observations reveal a need to examine the status of the functions and dysfunctions associated with the governmental agencies that are analyzed in this investigation.

Analysis of Data on Satisfaction and Discrimination in the Southern Region

Data regarding satisfaction by both agency directors and respondents, and discernment of discrimination practiced by the agencies were generated in a survey of eight agencies (ESC, FS, FmHA, SSA, CoA, HS, MH and VA) and 240 respondents in each of ten southern states. The survey instruments used in the study included three questions directed to agency use of formal client satisfaction surveys and two questions directed to the respondents (sample or rural population) to ascertain discrimination encountered or noticed in agencies' practices. These instruments were administered in keeping with social science survey techniques as described by Dillman (1978).

Agents' Satisfaction Surveys

Directors of the agencies were asked: "Are you aware of any formal client satisfaction surveys or evaluations of the agency by the clients?" Table 1 contains the data pertaining to the number of agencies conducting formal client satisfaction surveys. A total of 75 surveys were reported by the agencies. Vocational Rehabilitation conducted the largest number of client satisfaction surveys (20.0 percent of all conducted). This was followed by Employment Security (18.7 percent), Mental Health (16.0 percent) and Health Services (16.0

Table 7-1. Client satisfaction surveys conducted by agencies

Agency	Client No.	Surveys conducted in region %	Rank
*Vocational Rehabilitation	15	20.0	1
Employment Security	14	18.7	2
Mental Health	13	17.3	3
Health Services	12	16.0	4
Commission on Aging	8	10.7	5
Social Security Administration	5	6.7	6
Veterans Administration	4	5.3	7
Food Stamps	3	4.0	8
Farmer's Home Administration	1	1.3	9
Total	75	100.0	

*Not included as one of the eight agencies selected for this study, but for which data were acquired.

Table 7-2. Frequency of agency directors client satisfaction surveys by type of agency

Variables	How often are formal satisfaction surveys conducted? Annually (%)	Biannually (%)	Quarterly (%)	Other (%)
Employment Security	35.7 (5)	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	42.9 (6)
Food Stamps	50.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (1)
Farmer's Home Adm.	100.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Social Security	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (7)
Commission on Aging	40.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	30.0 (3)	30.0 (3)
Health Service	15.4 (2)	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	61.5 (8)
Mental Health Ser.	78.6 (11)	7.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (2)
Veterans Administration	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (5)

Table 7-3. Agency directors responding that their services helped clients escape poverty

Agencies and Categories	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on[5] Ag.		Med. He.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]		Total	
North Carolina	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	1	33.0	2	66.0	NR	—	1	33.0	16	11.3
South Carolina	3	100.0	1	33.0	2	66.0	2.5	84.0	2	66.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	18.5	13.1
Alabama	NR	—	NR	—	2	66.0	3	100.0	NR	—	1	33.0	1	33.0	NR	—	7	4.9
Mississippi	NR	—	1	33.0	2	66.0	1.5	50.0	1	33.0	1.5	50.0	2	66.0	NR	—	9	6.4
Arkansas	2	66.0	1	33.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	1	33.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	18	12.8
Georgia	3	100.0	5	17.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	NR	—	3	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	17.5	12.3
Florida	2	66.0	2	66.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	NR	—	2	66.0	NR	—	3	100.0	14	9.9
Virginia	3	100.0	1	33.0	5	17.0	3	100.0	NR	—	1	33.0	2	66.0	3	100.0	13.5	9.5
Tennessee	1	33.0	1	33.0	1	33.0	1	33.0	1	33.0	2	66.0	2	66.0	3	100.0	12	8.5
Kentucky	3	100.0	1	33.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	2	66.0	3	100.0	2	66.0	NR	—	16	11.3
Total	20	14.3	11.5	8.2	22.5	15.9	22	15.6	8	5.2	21.5	15.3	18	12.8	18	12.8	141.5	100.0

Emp. Sec.[1] = Employment Security
Food St.[2] = Food Stamps
Fr. H. Adm.[3] = Farmers Home Adm.
Soc. Sec.[4] = Social Security
Com. on Ag.[5] = Commission on Aging
Med. He.[6] = Medical Health
M. He.[7] = Mental Health
V. Adm.[8] = Veterans Adm.

percent). In contrast, the Farmer's Home Administration conducted the fewest number of client satisfaction surveys with only 1.3 percent being reported. Other agencies conducting relatively few client satisfaction surveys included Food Stamps (4.0 percent), Veterans Administration (5.3 percent) and the Social Security Administration (6.7 percent).

In Table 2 are presented the data obtained when agents were asked: "How often are formal client satisfaction surveys conducted?" As revealed by the data, FS conducted surveys more frequently than the other agencies with five annually, two bi-annually, one quarterly, and six on another basis. The SSA and VA did not report any annual surveys. Food Stamps reported one annual survey and the FmHA reported conducting two annual surveys.

Directors of the several agencies were asked: "Do you think the services provided by your agency help or hinder the ability of your clients to escape poverty?" The responses to this question are reported in Table 3. Following is a discussion of the responses given by each agency.

Employment security commission. All agency directors in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Kentucky responded that the services provided by ESC satisfactorily helped their clients escape poverty. Two-thirds of the agency directors in Arkansas and Florida and one-third in Tennessee expressed that their services helped clients escape poverty. No replies were received from Alabama and Mississippi agency directors.

Food stamps. North Carolina was the only state in which all agency directors reported that their clients were helped by FS. Two-thirds of the agency directors in Florida stated that services provided helped their clients. Some directors expressed that certain people use FS to get out of a crisis period, while for others FS are a permanent crutch. In South Carolina 33.0 percent of the agency directors believed that their programs helped clients escape poverty. Some of the respondents felt that FS allowed their clients to maintain a bare subsistence, thereby, hindering escape from poverty. In Mississippi, 33.0 percent of the directors perceived that their programs helped clients escape poverty. Some agency directors expressed that their clients developed better diets through the help of FS. In Tennessee 33.0 percent of the agency directors reacted positively. A few stated that FS did not help their clients live above poverty, but education helped, not food stamps or income supplements. Thirty-three percent of the FS agency directors in Arkansas, and Virginia responded that their programs helped their clients escape poverty.

Farmer's home administration. All agency directors in North Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida and Kentucky responded that they felt services provided by FmHA helped clients to escape poverty. Agency directors in North Carolina stated that services helped by removing health hazzards in housing, and by giving families a sense of pride in homeownership; also, by furnishing farmers a better standard of living. Agency directors in Florida stated that some families would never have safe and sanitary housing if FmHA did not exist. Georgia directors stated that they helped by providing credit to rural residents, who could not get assistance from conventional servicers. In Tennessee 33.0 percent of the agency directors reported that FmHA helped people escape poverty. In Virginia 17.0 percent of the agency directors believed FmHA helped clients in the escape from poverty. Also, some agency directors expressed that the loans individuals receive keep them farming, whereas they would be better off to sell out and find other jobs or retire.

Social security administration. All of the agency directors in North Carolina, Alabama and Virginia responded that SSA improved the ability of the clients to escape poverty. They stated that SSA was not specifically designed to help in the escape from poverty, but it provided an income monthly for many persons. Sixty-six percent of agency directors in Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, and Kentucky responded positively that the services helped in the escape from poverty. In Kentucky the response was that they provide more help reducing poverty than any agency in government to persons who live in the area. In Georgia 66.0 percent of the directors responded positively to the question, but did not cite reasons for their beliefs. Half of the agency directors in Mississippi reported positively and commented that the program was not specifically designed to help escape from poverty. One-third of the directors of SSA in Tennessee believed that the agencies enhanced the ability of the clients to escape from poverty but gave no reasons as to the basis for the beliefs.

Commission on aging. In South Carolina and Kentucky two-thirds of the agency directors responded that they felt CoA improved the ability of the clients to escape poverty. They stated that the services helped because the elderly did not have to pay full cost for food, fuel or transportation. In North Carolina and Arkansas respectively, 33.0 percent of the directors responded positively and stated that the services included transportation to doctors, drugstores, and hospitals. Similarly, 33.0 percent of the agency directors in Tennessee and Mississippi gave a positive response to the question. Agency directors in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Virginia did not reply to this question.

Health services. All directors of medical health services in South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia and Kentucky responded that they felt health services provided the clients the ability to escape poverty. They stated that through preventive health care the agencies helped maintain productivity in receivers' lives. Two-thirds of the directors of health services in North Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee described the services as enhancing the ability of the clients to escape poverty, as did 50.0 percent of them in Mississippi and one-third of them in Alabama and Virginia. No reasons were given in regard to the basis for these beliefs.

Mental health services. One hundred percent of the directors of mental health services in South Carolina, Arkansas, and Georgia agencies responded that they believed mental health services helped improve the clients' ability to escape poverty. Directors in Georgia stated that the services helped by promoting mental and emotional stability. In Mississippi, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, two-thirds of the agency directors responded positively, as did one-third of them in Alabama. Some of these directors expressed that job stability was a way of measuring success of treatment in cases. Agency directors in North Carolina and Florida did not respond to the question.

Veterans administration. In Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Virginia and Tennessee 100.0 percent of the agency directors responded that VA services improved the ability of the clients to escape poverty as did 66.0 percent in South Carolina and 33.0 percent in North Carolina. Most directors stated that VA services helped clients in regard to the ability to escape poverty by providing them with necessary assistance in relation to medical, educational, and housing needs. Agency directors in Alabama, Mississippi and Kentucky did not respond to the questions.

Respondents' Satisfaction Survey

Heads of households were asked to rate the services received from the several government agencies according to the following categories: very good; good; solved problem; did not solve problem; fair; no follow-up; poor; agency inadequate, and does not apply (Table 4).

Employment security commission. The category "very good" ranged from 50.0 percent for Kentucky to 3.7 percent for Arkansas. In North Carolina 35.7 percent of the respondents reported that services

Table 7-4. Rating of Agencies' services by clients and states

Agencies and Categories	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
South Carolina																
Vg	8	17.4	7	7.0	10	19.6	18	15.8	3	50.0	9	20.9	2	15.4	6	26.0
Gsp	22	47.8	72	72.0	33	64.7	87	76.3	3	50.0	32	74.5	7	53.8	17	70.8
Gnsp	6	13.0	3	3.0	2	3.9	1	0.9	—	—	—	—	1	7.7	—	—
Fnf	5	10.9	5	5.0	1	2.0	3	2.6	—	—	1	2.3	—	15.4	1	4.2
Pai	5	10.9	5	6.8	5	9.8	5	4.4	—	—	1	2.3	1	7.7	—	—
Total	46	100.0	100	100.0	51	100.0	114	100.0	6	100.0	43	100.0	—	100.0	24	100.0
North Carolina																
Vg	10	35.7	28	38.4	8	33.3	32	61.5	—	—	13	36.1	—	—	9	60.0
Gsp	6	21.4	30	41.1	10	41.7	18	34.6	2	100.0	21	58.3	2	50.0	4	26.6
Gnsp	7	25.0	4	5.5	2	8.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6.7
Fnf	1	3.6	6	8.2	2	8.3	2	3.9	—	—	2	5.6	1	25.0	—	—
Pai	4	14.3	5	6.8	2	8.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	25.0	1	6.7
Total	28	100.0	73	100.0	24	100.0	52	100.0	2	100.0	36	100.0	4	100.0	15	100.0
Alabama																
Vg	3	16.7	13	16.9	2	15.4	20	22.2	1	14.3	9	37.5	—	—	6	26.1
Gsp	13	72.2	48	63.3	10	76.9	60	66.7	5	71.4	14	58.3	4	80.0	14	60.9
Gnsp	—	—	5	6.5	—	—	2	2.2	—	—	1	4.2	1	20.0	1	4.3
Fnf	2	11.1	5	6.5	—	—	3	3.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4.3
Pai	—	—	6	7.8	1	1.7	5	5.6	1	14.3	—	—	—	—	1	4.3
Total	18	100.0	77	100.0	13	100.0	90	100.0	7	100.0	24	100.0	5	100.0	23	99.9

Table 7-4. Rating of Agencies' services by clients and states (Continued)

Agencies and Categories	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mississippi																
Vg	3	8.8	29	30.9	12	52.2	66	63.5	1	100.0	14	42.5	2	40.0	7	43.7
Gsp	6	17.6	51	54.3	9	39.1	34	32.7	—	—	18	54.5	1	20.0	6	37.5
Gnsp	23	67.6	8	8.5	—	—	3	2.9	—	—	—	—	1	20.0	1	6.3
Fnf	2	5.9	5	5.3	2	8.7	1	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	12.5
Pai	—	—	1	1.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3.0	1	20.0	—	—
Total	34	100.0	94	100.0	23	100.0	104	100.0	1	100.0	33	100.0	5	100.0	16	100.0
Arkansas																
Vg	1	3.7	22	33.3	15	46.9	45	44.6	7	58.4	10	38.5	3	37.5	6	46.1
Gsp	14	51.9	19	28.8	15	46.9	42	41.6	3	25.0	13	50.0	3	37.5	5	38.5
Gnsp	7	25.9	7	10.6	—	—	7	6.8	—	—	—	—	2	25.0	—	—
Fnf	3	11.1	13	19.7	—	—	5	5.0	—	—	3	11.5	—	—	—	—
Pai	2	7.4	5	7.6	2	6.3	2	2.0	1	8.3	—	—	—	—	2	15.4
Total	27	100.0	66	100.0	32	100.0	101	100.0	12	100.0	26	100.0	8	100.0	13	100.0
Georgia																
Vg	1	11.1	5	11.9	9	30.0	25	30.9	1	33.3	14	46.7	2	66.7	10	41.6
Gsp	8	88.9	26	61.9	17	56.7	42	51.9	2	66.7	15	50.0	1	33.3	10	41.6
Gnsp	—	—	3	7.1	2	6.7	5	6.2	—	—	1	3.3	—	—	1	4.2
Fnf	—	—	3	7.1	1	3.3	5	6.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	8.4
Pai	—	—	5	11.9	1	3.3	4	4.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4.2
Total	9	100.0	42	100.0	30	100.0	81	100.0	3	100.0	30	100.0	3	100.0	24	100.0

Table 7-4. Rating of Agencies' services by clients and states (Continued)

Agencies and Categories	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Florida																
Vg	3	10.7	24	33.3	8	53.3	53	58.9	5	71.4	26	45.6	2	66.7	16	57.1
Gsp	10	35.7	38	52.8	5	33.3	32	35.6	2	28.6	24	42.1	1	33.3	8	28.5
Gnsp	8	28.6	1	1.4	1	6.7	2	2.2	—	—	2	3.5	—	—	2	7.2
Fnf	4	14.3	7	9.7	—	—	3	3.3	—	—	4	7.0	—	—	2	7.2
Pai	3	10.7	2	2.8	1	6.7	—	—	—	—	1	1.8	—	—	—	—
Total	28	100.0	72	100.0	15	100.0	90	100.0	7	100.0	57	100.0	3	100.0	28	100.0
Virginia																
Vg	1	12.5	13	50.0	14	63.6	38	43.7	1	50.0	1	25.0	1	100.0	9	40.9
Gsp	5	62.5	10	38.5	7	31.8	44	50.6	1	50.0	2	50.0	—	—	9	40.9
Gnsp	1	12.5	2	7.7	1	4.5	—	—	—	—	1	25.0	—	—	—	—
Fnf	1	12.5	—	—	—	—	3	3.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	18.2
Pai	—	—	1	3.8	—	—	2	2.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	8	100.0	26	100.0	22	100.0	87	100.0	2	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	22	100.0
Tennessee																
Vg	10	25.0	11	18.0	3	13.0	16	20.8	—	—	14	29.2	3	60.0	6	24.0
Gsp	10	25.0	43	70.5	16	69.6	56	72.7	1	100.0	27	56.3	2	40.0	16	64.0
Gnsp	8	20.0	2	3.3	1	4.3	—	—	—	—	4	8.3	—	—	—	—
Fnf	2	5.0	1	1.6	2	8.7	4	5.2	—	—	3	6.3	—	—	1	4.0
Pai	10	25.0	4	6.6	1	4.3	1	1.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	8.0
Total	40	100.0	61	100.0	23	100.0	77	100.0	1	100.0	48	100.0	5	100.0	25	100.0

Table 7-4. Rating of Agencies' services by clients and states (Continued)

Agencies and Categories	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kentuchy																
Vg	2	50.0	21	19.1	2	16.7	29	36.3	1	25.0	4	66.6	—	—	8	40.0
Gsp	1	25.0	53	48.2	9	75.0	41	51.3	1	25.0	1	16.7	—	—	5	25.0
Gnsp	—	—	28	25.5	—	—	6	7.5	1	25.0	—	—	—	—	5	25.0
Fnf	1	25.0	5	4.5	—	—	—	—	1	25.0	1	16.7	—	—	2	10.0
Pai	—	—	3	2.7	1	8.3	4	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	4	100.0	110	100.0	12	100.0	80	100.0	4	100.0	6	100.0	—	—	20	100.0

Key: VG = Very Good
Gsp = Good, solved problem
Gnsp = Good, not solve problem
Fnf = Fair, no follow-up
Pia = Poor, agency inadequate

Emp. Sec.[1] = Employment Security Commission
Food St.[2] = Food Stamps
Fr. H. Adm.[3] = Farmers Home Administration
Soc. Sec. Adm.[4] = Social Security Administration

Com. on Ag.[5] = Commission on Aging
He. Ser.[6] = Health Service
M. He.[7] = Mental Health
V. Adm.[8] = Veterans Administration

were very good, as did 25.0 percent of the respondents in Tennessee, 17.4 percent in South Carolina, and 16.7 percent in Alabama. The category "good, solved problem" ranged from 88.9 percent for Georgia to 17.6 percent for Mississippi. This category had the largest percentage of respondents, except for North Carolina (21.4 percent), Mississippi (17.6 percent), and Kentucky (25.0 percent). The category "good, did not solve problem" ranged from 67.5 percent for Mississippi to 12.5 percent for Virginia. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents for Mississippi reported that the services, while good, did not solve their problems. The category "fair, no follow-up" responses, ranged from 25.0 percent for the respondents in Kentucky to 3.6 percent for respondents in North Carolina. The category, "poor, agency inadequate" ranged from 25.0 percent for Tennessee to 7.4 percent for Arkansas.

Food stamps. The category "very good" ranged from 50.0 percent for Virginia to 7.0 percent for South Carolina. Ratings of services as "very good" represented 50.0 percent of the respondents in Virginia, 38.4 percent in North Carolina, 33.3 percent in Arkansas and 30.9 percent in Mississippi.

The "good, solved problem" category ranged from 72.0 percent for South Carolina to 28.8 percent for Arkansas. Tennessee showed the next highest rating of the respondents (70.5 percent) followed by respondents in Alabama (63.3 percent), Georgia (61.9 percent), Mississippi (54.3 percent), and Florida (52.8 percent). There were very small percentages of responses in the "good, not solve problem" category, except for Kentucky (25.0 percent). Less than 20.0 percent of the respondents reported "fair, no follow-up" and "poor, agency inadequate."

Farmer's home administration. Ratings of services by respondents for Farmer's home administration in the "very good" category ranged from 63.6 percent for Virginia to 13.0 percent for Tennessee. The range for the category "good, solved problem", was 76.9 percent for Alabama to 31.8 percent for Virginia. Very few respondents reported ratings as "good, not solve problem", "fair, no follow-up" and "poor, agency inadequate".

Social security administration. The category "very good" for Social security administration ranged from 63.5 percent for Mississippi to 15.8 percent for South Carolina. In Mississippi 63.5 percent of the respondents reported "very good"; 61.5 percent in North Carolina, 58.9 percent in Florida and 44.6 percent in Arkansas.

The category "good, solved problem" ranged from 76.3 percent for South Carolina to 32.7 percent for Mississippi. This category had the largest percentage of respondents except for Mississippi (32.7 percent), North Carolina (34.6 percent) and Florida (35.6 percent).

The category "good, not solve problem" ranged from 6.8 percent for Arkansas to 0.9 percent for South Carolina; North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee had zero percent respondents in this category. Also, the categories, "fair, no follow-up" and "poor, agency inadequate," had very small percentage of respondents.

Commission on aging. The category "very good" ranged from 100.0 percent for Mississippi to 14.3 percent for Alabama. In this category, Florida had a rating of 71.4 percent respondents, Arkansas had 58.4 percent, South Carolina and Virginia had 50.0 percent respondents, respectively. North Carolina and Tennessee had no ratings for this category.

The category, "good, solved problem" ranged from 100.0 percent each for North Carolina and Tennessee to 25.0 percent each for Arkansas and Kentucky. Mississippi had no rating for this category. Only in Kentucky 25.0 percent of the respondents had a rating for the category, "good, not solved problem". Arkansas (8.3 percent) and Kentucky (25.0 percent) were the only two states in which respondents had ratings for the category, "fair no follow-up". Alabama (14.3 percent) and Arkansas (8.3 percent) were the only two states which had respondent ratings for the "poor, agency inadequate" category.

Health services. The category "very good" ranged from 66.6 percent for Kentucky to 20.9 percent for South Carolina. In this category, Georgia had 46.7 percent of the respondents, Florida 45.6 percent, Mississippi 42.6 percent and the ratings of respondents for the remaining states were low.

The category "good, solved problem" ranged from 74.5 percent for South Carolina to 16.7 percent for Kentucky. This category had the highest number of ratings. Ratings were very sparse in the categories, "good, not solve problem", "fair no follow-up", and "poor, agency inadequate."

Mental health. The category "very good" ranged from 100.0 percent for Virginia to 15.4 percent for South Carolina. Georgia and Florida each had the next highest ratings (66.7 percent). North Carolina, Alabama and Kentucky had no ratings for this category.

The category "good solved problem" ranged from 80.0 percent for Alabama to 20.0 percent for Mississippi. In this category, South Carolina had respondents' ratings of 53.8 percent and North Carolina, 50.0 percent. All other respondent ratings were low. Virginia and Kentucky had no ratings in this category. Ratings of respondents for other categories were sparse.

Veterans administration. The category "very good" ranged from 60.0 percent for North Carolina to 24.0 for Tennessee. Except for Florida

Table 7-5. Clients' responses to discrimination noticed at agencies

	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
South Carolina																
Race	—	—	2	1.9	4	7.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	1	2.0	1	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	45	100.0	101	98.1	46	90.2	114	99.1	6	100.0	43	100.0	21	100.0	24	100.0
Total	45	100.0	103	100.0	51	100.0	115	100.0	6	100.0	43	100.0	21	100.0	24	100.0
North Carolina																
Race	1	3.6	4	5.6	3	12.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sex	2	7.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	1	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	25	89.3	66	93.0	21	87.5	52	100.0	1	100.0	38	100.0	4	100.0	14	100.0
Total	28	100.0	71	100.0	24	100.0	52	100.0	1	100.0	38	100.0	4	100.0	14	100.0
Alabama																
Race	1	5.9	2	2.6	—	—	1	1.1	—	—	2	8.3	—	—	—	—
Sex	1	5.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	16.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	15	88.2	75	97.4	13	100.0	90	98.9	5	83.3	22	91.7	8	100.0	23	100.0
Total	17	100.0	77	100.0	13	100.0	91	100.0	6	100.0	24	100.0	8	100.0	23	100.0
Mississippi																
Race	—	—	1	1.1	1	4.5	1	1.0	1	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	1	3.0	2	2.2	—	—	1	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	32	97.0	89	96.7	21	95.5	102	98.1	—	—	33	100.0	5	100.0	16	100.0
Total	33	100.0	92	100.0	22	100.0	104	100.0	1	100.0	33	100.0	5	100.0	16	100.0

Table 7-5. Clients' responses to discrimination noticed at agencies (Continued)

	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Arkansas																
Race	—	—	1	1.6	1	3.2	2	0.8	1	9.1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	2	3.1	1	3.2	1	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	27	100.0	61	95.3	29	93.5	95	96.6	10	90.9	25	100.0	16	100.0	17	100.0
Total	27	100.0	64	100.0	31	100.0	98	100.0	11	100.0	25	100.0	16	100.0	17	100.0
Georgia																
Race	—	—	2	4.8	1	3.1	1	1.2	—	—	—	—	2	40.0	—	—
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	10	100.0	40	95.2	31	96.9	81	98.8	3	100.0	30	100.0	3	60.0	24	100.0
Total	10	100.0	42	100.0	32	100.0	82	100.0	3	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	24	100.0
Florida																
Race	2	7.1	3	4.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.8	—	—	3	11.1
Sex	—	—	1	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.8	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	26	92.9	68	94.4	15	100.0	93	98.9	7	100.0	55	96.5	3	100.0	24	88.9
Total	28	100.0	72	100.0	15	100.0	94	100.0	7	100.0	57	100.0	3	100.0	27	100.0
Virginia																
Race	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	8	100.0	25	100.0	22	100.0	85	98.8	2	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	23	100.0
Total	8	100.0	25	100.0	22	100.0	86	100.0	2	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	23	100.0

Table 7-5. Clients' responses to discrimination noticed at agencies (Continued)

	Emp. Sec.[1] Comm.		Food St.[2]		Fr. H. Adm.[3]		Soc. Sec.[4] Adm.		Com. on Ag.[5]		He. Ser.[6]		M. He.[7]		V. Adm.[8]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tennessee																
Race	1	2.5	—	—	1	4.2	—	—	—	—	1	2.2	—	—	—	—
Sex	2	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	37	92.5	58	100.0	23	95.8	76	100.0	1	100.0	44	97.8	15	100.0	23	100.0
Total	40	100.0	58	100.0	24	100.0	76	100.0	1	100.0	45	100.0	15	100.0	23	100.0
Kentucky																
Race	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.3	—	—	—	—	3	100.0	1	4.8
Sex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Age	—	—	—	—	1	8.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
None	4	100.0	112	100.0	11	91.7	76	98.7	2	100.0	6	100.0	—	—	20	95.2
Total	4	100.0	112	100.0	12	100.0	77	100.0	2	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0	21	100.0

Emp. Sec. Comm.[1] = Employment Security Commission
Food St.[2] = Food Stamps
Fr. H. Adm.[3] = Farmers Home Administration
Soc. Sec.[4] = Social Security Administration
Com. on Ag.[5] = Commission on Aging
He. Ser.[6] = Health Services
M. He.[7] = Mental Health
V. Adm.[8] = Veterans Administration

(57.1 percent) and Arkansas (46.1 percent), all other ratings were low in this category. The category "good, solved problem" ranged from 70.8 percent to 25.0 percent for Kentucky. Alabama (60.9 percent) and Tennessee (64.0 percent) received the next highest number of ratings, respectively. All other ratings were low.

For the category, "good, not solved problem", South Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia, and Tennessee had no ratings. Ratings for the remaining states were very low. Other categories had minimum ratings, with North Carolina and Arkansas with no ratings for "fair no follow-up" category. South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Virginia and Kentucky had no ratings for "poor agency inadequate." Other ratings by remaining states were at a minimum.

Discrimination. Respondents were asked if they noticed any racial, sexual, or age discrimination at the offices of the agencies which follow.

Employment security commission. South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Virginia, and Kentucky respondents reported that they did not notice any racial, sexual and age discrimination at the offices of this agency. Only a small percentage of respondents reported noticeable discrimination in: North Carolina (race 3.6 percent; sex, 7.1 percent); Alabama (race 5.9 percent; sex 5.9 percent); Florida (race, 7.1 percent); and Tennessee (race, 2.5 percent; sex 5.0 percent). The majority of the respondents seemed satisfied with the quality of the services of the Employment security commission, as very little discrimination was noticeable at the offices.

Food stamps. Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky respondents reported that they did not notice any racial, sexual or age discrimination at the Food stamps offices. South Carolina (race 1.9 percent), North Carolina (race 5.6 percent; age 1.4 percent), Alabama (race 2.6 percent), Mississippi (race 1.1 percent; age 2.2 percent), Arkansas (race 1.6 percent; age 3.1 percent), Georgia (race 4.8 percent), and Florida (race 4.2 percent; sex 1.4 percent) reported small percentages of noticeable discrimination. Seemingly, the majority of the respondents were satisfied with the services they received from the agencies.

Social security administration. Respondents in North Carolina and Tennessee reported that they did not notice any racial, sexual or age discrimination at the Social security administration offices. Respondents in South Carolina reported 0.9 percent of age discrimination; in Alabama 1.1 percent for race; in Mississippi 1.0 percent for race and 1.0 percent for age; in Arkansas 0.8 percent for race and 0.4 percent for age; in Georgia 1.2 percent for race; in Florida 1.1 percent for age; in Virginia 1.2 percent for race and in Kentucky 1.3 percent for race. The majority of the respondents seemed satisfied with the services and noticed very little discrimination at the offices.

Commission on aging. In Alabama 16.7 percent of the respondents reported noticeable sex discrimination; in Mississippi 100.0 percent reported racial discrimination and in Arkansas 9.1 percent reported racial discrimination. In the remaining states respondents reported no racial, sexual and age discrimination. It would appear that Mississippi had the most racial discrimination although respondents there rated services (100.0 percent) very good. Ratings of services in the states except Kentucky, for the Commission on aging were very good.

Health services. In Alabama 8.3 percent of the respondents reported race discrimination; in Florida 1.8 percent reported race and sex discrimination respectively; and in Tennessee 2.2 percent of the respondents reported noticeable race discrimination at the health services offices. Respondents were satisfied with the services they received from health services offices.

Mental health. Georgia (40.0 percent) and Kentucky (100.0 percent) were the only states with respondents who noticed racial discrimination at their respective offices. For Mental health, most respondents gave good ratings for the services received.

Veterans administration. Discrimination was noticed only by respondents in Florida (race 11.1 percent) and Kentucky (race 4.8 percent). The ratings for Veterans administration agency were good. Racial discrimination noticed by respondents in Florida and Kentucky, was minimal. Ratings of services were good and the majority stated that problems were solved.

Summary and Conclusions

Functionalism is presented in this study as a theoretical base for the study of governmental agencies and low income groups in ten rural southern states. This theoretical perspective focuses on the functional and dysfunctional interactions of directors and users of agencies' services in regard to users' satisfaction and discernment of discrimination. Conceptual definitions of functions, dysfunctions, client satisfaction and discrimination are formulated and supported by related literature.

Data pertaining to use of client satisfaction surveys by agents of the several agencies; clients' satisfaction of services received; and any noticeable discriminatory practices were collected by the use of the Agency Directors' questionnaire and an Individual Interview instrument.

Of the total number of agencies' directors surveyed (270), 36.3 percent performed client satisfaction surveys. Mental Health had the highest affirmative response (54.2 percent), and Farmer's Home Administration had the lowest percentage of client satisfaction surveys. Employment Security conducted the largest number of surveys. Social Security and Veterans Administration did not conduct any surveys, followed by Food Stamps (one annually) and Farmer's Home Administration (two annually). The majority of agents stated that the services they provided helped the users to escape poverty. Other responses were that the services helped in crisis periods; or allowed their clients to maintain a bare subsistence level, thereby hindering any escape from poverty.

A primary function or concern of agents conducting client satisfaction surveys is to assess the effectiveness of the various social policies and programs with respect to reducing poverty; that is, to help users of the program move above the poverty level. Therefore, by analyzing the present process of income maintenance, that sustains people in poverty, but does not help them escape poverty, this study sets a functional concept to call attention to the formulation of policies to counteract this dysfunction. Policies are needed to improve individuals' capacities to move above the poverty level, thereby enabling them to participate more effectively in economic life. Such new policies should help prevent the development of conditions (dysfunctions) which thrust individuals and heads of households, including their families, into poverty and which holds them there. Inevitably, the assessment of social policies and agencies, with respect to poor people, requires a more precise identification of this group of people than presently exists and a careful evaluation of the impact of agencies and agents' attitudes upon them.

Respondents' ratings of the several government agencies were adequately distributed among the ten states. However, some respondents indicated that although the services in several agencies were good, they did not solve their problems; some respondents reported that services were fair with no follow-up; and a minimum reported services as "poor" or "inadequate".

Respondents reported very small percentages of noticeable discrimination at the agencies. Respondents in the ten states reported small percentages of sex and race discrimination noticeable at the agencies except for Mental Health which had no discrimination in eight states. For the Veterans Administration, discrimination was only noticed by respondents in Florida and Kentucky which was at a minimum.

A more detailed assessment of discrimination should be continued, so that specific cases and agencies involved could be studied. Outreach programs designed to inform eligible persons of available services sometimes do not reach the intended audience and results sometimes in client perception of discrimination. Discrimination tends to isolate poverty groups who are often already dysfunctional in society. Therefore, agencies should try to prevent discriminatory actions by practicing "objective standards" to assess the qualifications of potential applicants and uncover factors affecting non-usage of the agency.

In conclusion, this study should be seen as one among several seeking to uncover factors affecting consequences such as regular clients' formal evaluations of agencies, satisfaction level of clients; and elimination of existing visible discrimination.

The authors suggest that public hearings of the results of this study be conducted to alert the views of interested persons including the heads of Federal and State departments, directors of agencies, and politicians on issues relating to: defining satisfactory programs; agents' assumptions that their agencies help the ability of their clients to escape poverty, and the visibility of discrimination.

Agencies should seek to improve individual's capacities to participate more effectively in economic activity. Economic activity (Robertson, 1977) functions to provide the goods and services on which our society depends for its existence. Also, it gives meaning to life enabling people to earn a living and to draw a sense of identity from the work that they do. Howie and Hanna (1976) argue that criticisms that have been leveled at the federal outreach programs point out that the techniques and methods in use generally fail to attract and reach the rural poor, and that they are in the main, geared to the attitudes and culture of the middle class.

REFERENCES

Dillman, Don A.
1977 Mail and Telephone Surveys: The Total Design Method. New York: John Wiley.

Fleming, Arthur S.
1976 "Age discrimination still prevalent". Aging Nos. 281-282 (Mar.-Apr.) DHEW Pub. No. (OHD/AoA) 78-20946.

Howie, Marguerite R., and Kathleen Hanna
1976 Effects of communication and transportation on utilization of agency services by rural poor people in South Carolina. South Carolina: Orangeburg: Cooperative State Research Service, USDA, Research Bulletin, No. 5.

Makielski, Jr., S. J.
1976 "American Minorities," Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom - A World Survey. The Hague, Volume III. Pub. for the Foundation for the Study of Plural Societies by Martin Nijhoff.

Merton, Robert K.
1968 On Theoretical Sociology. New York: The Free Press.

Parsons, Talcott
1951 The Social System. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1973 "On the concept of functionalism in the Social Sciences", "Merton: On Theoretical Sociology; New York: The Free Press.

Robertson, Ian
1980 Social Problems. New York: Random House, Inc.

U. S. Bureau of the Census
1980 Population Profile of the United States: 1979 Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 350. Washington, D. C. United States Printing Office.

Chapter 8

Food Stamp and Health Program Participation Among Eligibles

Gete Bekele and Gerald Wheelock

ABSTRACT

Four health related programs are examined to identify factors related to participation in them. Independent variables studied to determine their contribution to program participation included selected demographic factors, attitudinal characteristics, and household minority status in respect to county racial composition.

Through regression analysis it was found that the classes of variables were independent and that minority status in the county was negatively related to participation in all programs. Positive self attitudes were generally positively associated with participation. Program utilization between states was more random than systematic.

It was concluded that efforts to enhance the poor's estimate of their self-worth and their worthiness of program benefits are well placed, and that more equality in program participation would not likely be achieved by relaxing federal guidelines, in favor of local rules.

Introduction

Regardless of how various levels of bureaucracy share administrative duties, government programs to assist the needy are implemented in local communities by locally based officials and commerical providers of goods and services. Therefore, it is not unlikely that implementation of eligibility standards laid down at the federal or state level would vary considerably from one locality to the next. Of course, it is possible that gross deviations or underutilization of any given program could be easily spotted by judicious use of statistical models including appropriate household and administrative unit variables from Bureau of the Census data. However, since the law and the care with which it is implemented by the Bureau of the Census does not allow use of population census data in this way, such efforts are limited to the use of local-level summary data, e.g., percent in poverty, median income, average family size, etc., compared with participation rates as in Ghelfi,

(1984) or Wheelock and Preyer (1978) or sample household data for areas of 250,000 population or more as in the Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP, 1984). These efforts are useful in generating or testing hypotheses with either the locality (counties or municipalities) or the individual household (within states or large SMSA) as the unit of analysis, but not with both units simultaneously, e.g., a county contextual analysis of household Food Stamp utilization. Unlike census data, for at least one point in time, these 10-state samples of three rural counties and 240+ households per state provide an opportunity to join county level contextual characteristics with household data to study their combined systematic effects upon participation in government programs.

If programs were both implemented and accepted uniformly as designed, no systematic differences among counties or individual households would appear. The null hypothesis of no significant relationship between county or household characteristics of program eligibles and program participation among eligibles would be supported. Any deviation from full program participation would be random. Substantively however, several reasonable hypotheses predicting more or less participation may be generated. However, little or no support of these hypotheses would be expected unless program implementation is systematically biased throughout the region.

Program eligibles and participation

Four health related programs - Food Stamps, Medicaid, Medicare and County Public Health Departments - were selected for analysis. Brief descriptions of each of these programs were presented in Wheelock, et. al. (1983). Program eligibility criteria were matched with the survey data for income, family size, age and handicapped status to determine eligibility of each sample household to participate in each program (Bekele, 1984). Once the eligible subsamples were thus defined for each program, actual participation of households or its members in each program was measured by a "yes" or "no" response to the question, "Have you used the program during the current year?" The survey was conducted during July and August of 1981. The combined 10-state eligible subsamples and the number participating in each program are reported in Table 1. Because of the age criteria, Medicaid and Medicare program eligibles have been combined for the population over 65. In effect, all households with heads over 65 were assumed to be eligible. For Medicaid, households with heads under 65 were screeened by income, family size, female-headed families and handicapped criteria, i.e., aid to faimiles with dependent children (AFDC) criteria. For Food Stamps, only income and family size were used; no financial assets test was included in the screen for eligibility. Finally, all households were treated as eligible for County Health Services.

Sample Design

The 10 samples from sample states represented households from rural counties (70% or more rural residents) with median family income in the lower half of the rural strata. Finally, a racially mixed population was required; at least 5% black was necessary except in Kentucky and Tennessee counties where 1.5% black was the minimum. The sample frame for each state was composed only of counties meeting these criteria. A multistage cluster sampling procedure was designed and uniformly applied in all states.

Three counties were selected from each state's sample frame by probability in proportion to size methods. Next, selected counties of each state were divided into area-cluster sample frames of approximately equal population size. At least 30 sample clusters were selected randomly in each state. Finally, eight households were sampled by systematic procedures from the randomly selected starting point (RRI, 1983: p. 2-7, 67).

Table 8-1. Sample size for Eligible Subsample, Number of Eligible Participants, and Number of Completed Household Records For Regression Models.

	Food Stamps	Medicare/ Medicaid	Medicaid	Health Services
No. of Eligibles	1092	728	388	2580
No. of Participants	472	483	135	217
No. in Regression	1085	693	387	2479

Most states over sampled by two or three clusters to insure a minimum of eight clusters per county, and in South Carolina the sample was increased to 312 households by adding nine clusters. In total, 328 clusters netted 2580 completed survey schedules.

Independent Variables

A wide range of household or county contextual variables might be expected to influence an eligible household's probability of participating in a program. Those explored here were limited to three types of variables: family demographic or socio-economic variables; head-of-household attitudinal variables, and household minority status with respect to county racial composition, i.e. whites were considered minorities in predominantly black counties and vice versa.

Socio-economics. The demographic variables included family size, income, age-of-head, sex-of-head, and education. For Food Stamps and Medicaid, family size and income were used to determine the eligibility of families, but since both variables may vary considerably within the eligible subsamples they were retained in the analysis. Generally, participation in these programs would be expected to vary inversely with income and education. In effect these two variables provided a proxy for the assets test which was left out of the eligibility criteria. Eligible families with higher levels of education and/or income were expected to have been only temporarily in poverty or to have had other assets that would have kept them from qualifying for welfare assistance. The same families would have been more likely to engage in private medical care than would those more deeply in poverty. Probabilities of program participation with respect to family size, sex-of-head, and age-of-head were expected to be program specific. For example, younger families with more children and female heads were expected to use the Food Stamp and Medicaid programs, while age was expected to be directly related to Medicare use for households with heads over 65.

Attitudes. A second block of variables included two inversely worded statements evaluating one's self-worth: "I do things as well as others" and "I feel useless at times." Conventional wisdom suggests that pride in one's ability and self worth would tend to reduce the probability of participating in welfare programs. On the other hand it may take a strong ego to apply for and accept welfare. Therefore, it was not expected that these attitudinal variables would yield consistent results one way or the other.

Minority Status. Finally, with respect to minority status, it was hypothesized that the probability of black family participation among eligibles would be generally greater in predominantly black counties and, likewise, that white participation would be greater in predominantly white counties. In Durkhiemian style, it might be rationalized that the local majority would be less likely to censor its members in use of the system's welfare program, while local minority populations would seek to pull together and differentiate themselves from the majority. Alternatively, the majority may actively encourage poor families of their own race to use programs provided by the system while local minorities would have fewer direct contacts with the system's programs. In either event, the net effect of local minority status upon participation rates would be the same. Hence it was hypothesized that eligible families of the local minority (black or white) would be less likely to participate in public assistance programs than would similarly eligible families of the local racial majority. In a preliminary study using only the Alabama sample, Food Stamp participation was higher among the eligibles of the local racial majority (Wheelock, et al., 1983). That hypothesis was refined for further testing with the combined 10 state samples. Race of the eligible household (black or other) and percent black in the county would provide the main effects while the dummy variable for race of household, scored one for black and zero for white, multiplied by the percent black in county would provide the interaction term. The regression coefficient for these three terms plus the intercept would provide for the test of the hypothesis.

Regression Analysis of Program Participation

Four blocks of variables (county dummies, demographic, attitudes and minority status) were tested separately and jointly except for the county dummies and minority status. The latter two blocks were redundant in that all households from each of the thirty counties had identical values for the percent black in county variable as well as for their county's dummy variable. Participation variables for each of the four programs regressed separately on the four blocks of variable - one block per equation - yielded significant F values for each regression. To

Table 8-2. Rate of Participation in Government Services with Respect to Minority Status

The Dependent Variables	Food Stamps B	Food Stamps F	Medicare/*** Medicaid 65 & over 65 B	Medicare/*** Medicaid 65 & over 65 F	Medicaid** Under 65 B	Medicaid** Under 65 F	Health Services B	Health Services F
MINORITY STATUS								
Race (black households)	−.2588	9.9	−.1542	2.1	.0334	0.1	.0956	6.5
Percent black in county	−.0074	51.8	−.0033	7.8	.0022	1.5	−.0002	0.5
Race × percent black	.0106	38.9	.0045	4.0	.0006	0.1	−.0010	1.9
Intercept (white households)	.5870		.7761		.2094		.0798	
R^2	0.069		0.012		0.020		0.006	
F	26.58		2.83		2.73		5.28	
DF Used	(3 + 1)		(3 + 1)		(3 + 1)		(3 + 1)	
N	(1092)		(728)		(387)		(2580)	
	1085		693		387		2479	

test whether or not the county differences were due to demographic differencies or attitudinal differences, these three blocks were combined in one regression. The individual effects of the variables within each block proved to be largely independent of the effects of the other blocks of variables. That is to say that the observed demographic and attitudinal effects were primarily within county differences rather than between county or state differences (Bekele, 1984). Since 10 separate state samples were involved in the analysis, it is impor-tant to note that the demographic or attitudinal differences were not due to differences in the state samples.

Since county differences are more inclusive than minority status differences, it was still possible that the latter differences might have been due to demographic or attitudinal differences. Thus, the process was repeated with minority status substituted for the county dummy variables.

First, the participation rates for the four programs were regressed on the minority status variables (Table 2). Among the 1092 households eligible for Food Stamps participation, and the 728 households with heads 65 and over that were assumed to be eligible for Medicare or Medicaid, significant support was found for the hypothesis that minority status would lead to lower participation rates. Regarding Food Stamps in eligible white households, a 10% increase in the percent black in county led to an average 7.4% decline (B-value equaled - .0074, Table 2) in participation among white households. For eligible black households the same 10% increase led to a net 3.2% increase in participation (10.6 - 7.4, Table 2). When these B-slopes were plotted with their respective intercepts, it became visually clear that minority status restrained participation in the Food Stamp Program. To a lesser degree, the same relationships were found in the Medicare and Medicaid Program for those over 65 years of age (Table 2). In the case of Medicaid under 65 the slopes for participation by both races were positive and for Health Services they were negative with relation to percent black in the county. This suggest that black and white eligibles were more likely to use the Medicaid Program in predominantly black counties, but less likely to use the County Health Program in those counties. A feasible interpretation of the slopes for both races would be that Medicaid was to a limited extent substituting for County Health Programs in more predominantly black counties and visa versa (Table 2). To the extent that the Medicaid program focused services on female-headed families with dependent children, it was probable that such families were clearly in the minority in predominantly white counties, but that they approached majority in predominantly black counties. The interpreta-

Table 8-3. Rate of Participation in Government Services with Respect to Demographic Variables Adjusted for Employment Status and County Resident

The Indepentent Variables	Food Stamps		Medicare/ Medicaid 65 & over 65		Medicaid Under 65		Health Services	
DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Age (Ln)	-.01780	16.7	.3379	2.9	-.1237	3.7	-.1075	51.7
Family Size	.0575	44.2	-.0060	3.3	.0205	4.2	.0050	12.6
Sex[a]	.1731	36.4	-.0525	2.1	.1164	2.7	-.0562	21.9
Education (Ln)	-.0950	17.5	-.0508	4.1	-.1147	5.6	-.0032	0.1
Income	-.0454	37.0	-.0022	1.8	-.0391	13.4	-.0003	0.3
ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES								
"I do things as well as others"	.0464	13.0	.0475	8.5	.0485	5.1	.0053	0.9
"I feel useless at times"	-.0477	13.1	-.0138	0.7	-.0335	2.3	-.0097	3.6
MINORITY STATUS								
Race[a] (black households)	-.2914	14.2	-.1901	3.2	.0920	0.5	.0983	7.1
Percent black in county	-.0065	45.7	-.0028	5.9	.0035	3.8	-.0002	0.0
Race × percent black	.0092	32.0	.0043	3.1	-.0015	0.3	-.0014	3.5
Intercept								
(white households)	1.4696	—	-.6382	—	.8670	—	.5359	—
R^2	.1952	—	.0609	—	.1017	—	.0439	—
F	26.04	—	4.2	—	4.73	—	11.34	—
DF	(10 + 1)	—	(10 + 1)	—	(10 + 1)	—	(10 + 1)	—
N	(1092)	—	(728)	—	(387)	—	(2580)	—
	1085	—	693	—	—	—	2479	—

[a]Dummy Variables
1 = Female, Black
0 = Male, White

tion that eligible families of both races were more likely to participate as female-headed families became a mojority was consistent with the Food Stamp and elderly Medicaid and Medicare findings.

The variance explained by these equations was very small. Only the food stamp equation approached seven percent of the variance explained. This suggested that systematic racially related variation in program implementation and acceptance was minimal from one area to the next, but that the variation detected was systematic and consistent with the hypothesis that program participation of eligibles was suppressed by minority status.

Next, the demographic and attitudinal blocks of variables were added to the minority status block (Table 3). When the minority status variables were thus controlled, it was found that the original relationships were still significant and consistent with approximately the same regression slopes for all four programs. In effect the equations were then controlled for a family assets test in the form of education and income as proxy variables. They were negatively related to participation in all programs and significantly so to all but County Health Services. Of course, County Health Services were available to all regardless of income or assets.

Age of head and family size, inversely correlated themselves, also had consistenly opposite relationships with participation in each program. Food Stamps, Medicaid under 65 and Health Services, consistent with their orientation to children, all regressed negatively on age-of-head and positively on family size. Conversely as expected, participation in the elderly health program regressed positively on age and negatively on family size. Older persons living alone or couples were more likely to use the service than those living with others. Female-headed households were more likely to use Food Stamp and Medicaid under 65, but less likely than male headed households to use Medicaid/Medicare over 65 or County Health Services.

Considering the mixed expectations, the attitudinal variables were surprisingly consistent across all programs. Those who asserted that "I do things as well as others," showed positive regression coefficients; conversely, those who claimed "I feel useless at times," showed negative coefficients on agreement scales scored from one to five. These results suggest that program participation required a certain strength of ego and a positive evaluation of self worth. Those who "feel useless at times" may have felt that the effort required to receive program benefits was not worth the humiliation of an already weak ego.

Conclusions

In summary, it was found that under utililzation of programs was more random than systematic, but that significant systematic variation did exist. As hypothesized, education and income were negatively associated with participation in all four programs. Also, as hypothesized, family size and age had opposite effects on household utilization of each program. Age-of-head was negatively related to participation in programs orientated toward young families (Food Stamps or Medicaid) and positively related to use of health services for those over 65. The family size relationship was just the opposite in each case. Female sex-of-head was positive with Food Stamps and Medicaid under 65, but negative with County Health Services and Medicare/Medicaid over 65.

Agreement with positive self-worth attitudinal statements was also positively associated with participation in all programs, while agreement with negative self-worth statements yielded negative effects with participation. Efforts of professional social workers to boost the poor's estimations of their own self-worth and correspondingly their worthiness of program benefits seems to be well placed. Perhaps more of these efforts are needed.

Finally, minority status consistently suppressed program participation. However, with these results it is not possible to determine if eligible minority households intentionally differentiate themselves from the majority by nonparticipation or if, due to segregation effects, they simply lack equal access to the programs. Never the less, relocation of federal guidelines would not be expected to lead toward more equality of participation.

REFERENCES

Bekele, Gete
1984 Participation of Low-Income Households in Government Services in Ten Southern States. M.Sc Thesis, Alabama A&M University.

Bureau of the Census
1984 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP).

Ghelfi, Linda
1984 Welfare Programs in Nonmetroplitan Counties. Human Service In The Rural Environment.

RR-1

1983 Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low-Income Areas of the Rural South: A Basebook. Gerald C. Wheelock, ed., Alabama A&M University.

Wheelock, Gerald C., and Ann Preyer

1978 Community Class Structure and School Nutrition Program participation." School Foodservice Research Review 2 (Summer): 92-97.

Wheelock, Gerald C., Joseph Befecadu, Arthur Okoro, and Priscilla Salant

1983 Use of Government Services by Low-Income, Rural Residents in Alabama. Southern Rural Sociology, 1:97-114.

Chapter 9

The Development of Public Assistance in the United States

Sheron L. Randolph

Introduction

In this country, government assistance for the relief and care of the low-income, the aged, the handicapped, the unemployed, and children was born out of the call for federal aid to control and alleviate the condition of impoverishment. This intervention by the federal government resulted in the initiation of provisions, collectively known as public assistance or welfare, designed to reduce conditions of poverty through direct and/or indirect means of assistance. This historical development, function, and effectiveness of social assistance programs to reduce level of poverty are examined in this Chapter.

In 1981, the number of persons below the poverty level represented 17.0 percent of the nonmetro population and 12.6 percent of the metro population, compared to figures in 1970 of 16.9 percent nonmetro and 10.2 percent metro. It is the persistence of high levels of poverty which suggest a re-examination of the policies, agencies, and programs designed to eliminate such problems. Evidence suggests that despite the overall decline in poverty, that earnings, lack of education, unmarketable skills, and high level of unemployment continue to affect efforts to change the number of poor.

Relief in the form of federal aid was slow to develop in the United States. Much of the responsibility for this delayed action in aiding the poor had to do with the country's orientation toward economic individualism. With the ideology of self-help having long flourished as the answer to poverty, the notion of a relief system, particularly stemming from public resources, proved to be unacceptable to the American public. As a result, the distribution of relief tended to be confined solely to private sources with aid coming from local governments only when assistance needs exceeded the capabilities of charitable organization.

The unwillingness of the federal government to address the issue of poverty continued into the 1930's as the Great Depression began to emerge. But even in the midst of impending economic catastrophe, the

American public maintained its position that individual self-help not government intervention, was the answer to increasing levels of poverty (Piven and Cloward, 1971).

Although economic conditions continued to erode, the federal government's position toward the poor under the Hoover Administration remained noncommittal. The only action taken by President Herbert Hoover was directed at offering encouragement to charity efforts, and supporting and stimulating entrepreneurs (bankers, farmers, railroads, and business in general). Hoover's resistance to government aid stemmed, in part, from the belief that the business sector was responsible for maintaining the economic balance. As the faltering economy and unemployment levels approached crisis proportions, the Hoover Administration proceeded with more ineffective measures to correct the mounting problems. Such measures along with the continuous exclusion of monetary assistance from the federal government resulted in the further escalation of relief budgets for local counties and the near exhaustion of charitable contributions. What emerged from the Hoover Administration's inadequate attempts to resolve the escalating economic decline was a mass public outcry for federal assistance. With conditions worsening, public attitudes began to reflect "the system's" apparent economic instability and an overall erosion in the American way of life. Such events were eventually responsible for creating a feeling of helplessness, despair, and uncertainty, which in turn gave rise to large outbreaks of civil disorder (Schultz, 1973).

It was not until the 1932 election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that efforts were made to address worsening economic and civil conditions. During his efforts to capture the Democratic nomination, Roosevelt had developed his "New Deal" theme, a theme which proposed public programs for the benefit of the poor. Under this proposal, attempts would be initiated for economic relief and recovery by utilizing a variety of measures designed to focus on different facets of the economic breakdown.

In launching the "New Deal" theme, relief for the poor and unemployed was initiated three weeks after Roosevelt assumed office. Of the various measures enacted, the Federal Emergency Relief Act provided the most direct relief. The FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration) represented a precedent in American relief-giving. For the first time the federal government assumed the responsibility for relief and appropriated the funds to carry out that responsibility. Monies from FERA were allocated by direct grants to states where financial resources were depleted and as matching funds where state funds were available. From 1933 to the program termination in 1935, the federal government allocated approximately 3 billion dollars, or 70 percent of the appropriations for direct relief (Waxman, 1968; Schultz, 1973).

As other approaches were employed to resolve the crisis conditions brought on by the Depression, the mood toward direct relief through programs such as FERA soon shifted toward an emphasis on work relief. The transition from a direct form of relief to work relief appeared to again reflect the work ethic ideology of the country. The prevailing sentiment was that governmental handouts were not the best means of renewing pride or restoring the way of life among the American populous. As a result, reforms were instituted to put the unemployed to work on subsidized projects. For the first time in the Nation's history, the federal government became the principal employer of millions of people. Consequently, an important outcome of these programs was a marked decline in the level of civil disorder.

The initiation of work relief began in 1933 with the establishment of the Civil Works Administration. But this venture, as with direct relief measures, met with considerable opposition. Because of the role government had begun to play in employment, the primary objections were from private enterprise. Such activities in the past had been the exclusive responsibility of private industry. But even with the initiation of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, designed to reconcile the role of the government with business, the relationship between government and private business did not improve. Instead, circumstances became worse; labor unions were established, and a subsequent clash between labor and business ensued (Wilcox, 1969).

Ties between the President and business became further strained when the Administration proposed major tax reforms. The proposed reforms included the Social Security Act, a multifaceted measure which would provide provisions such as unemployment insurance, old age insurance, aid for dependent children (AFDC), and federal aid to states providing direct relief to the unemployable. In 1935, the establishment of the Social Security Act represented a number of assistance giving provisions to address the needs of an ailing American public. The structural framework of this landmark legislation would serve as the foundation for later public welfare systems (McKinley and Frase, 1970; Burns, 1949).

By 1935 direct relief measures had been all but eliminated, giving way to an emphasis on work-relief. The shift from direct relief marked the renewal of two important factors: (1) the gradual improvement of economic conditions, and (2) a resurgence of the work ethic ideology. Efforts toward implementing work relief projects began with the designation of the Works Progress Administration and the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. However, in light of the massive numbers of unemployed, these programs did not have the intended or expected impact. The WPA was able to provide only 1.5 million jobs for the pool of 10 to 11 million unemployed, thus forcing the remaining millions to seek relief from state and local agencies (Piven and Cloward, 1971).

In spite of the WPA jobs placement limitations, its efforts were responsible for many community benefits—parks, roads, schools, and hospitals. But by 1936 the WPA began reducing its rolls, such that by 1937 less than half of its work force remained. This fluctuation of roll size continued until the outbreak of World War II. It was the onset of the war which led to the eventual dissolution of work relief programs. With the elimination of work relief, the only remaining source of assistance was that provided by the Social Security Act. This was referred to as *categorical* assistance.

The continuation of categorical forms of assistance reflected still another transition in the attitudes of the American public toward social aid or relief. This transition denoted a softer stance toward direct relief, which had previously been considered an unacceptable approach to resolving poverty. Work relief, however, proved to be more in line with the public attitude on work ethics and government funded benefits. But public tolerance even for work relief declined as federal monetary allocations became greater than actual reductions in unemployment levels, thereby reinforcing the public's belief that work or direct forms or relief were a contradiction of the "American Way" (Wilcox, 1969).

Efforts toward reducing conditions of poverty remained dependent upon a small number of social service programs developed during the Depression. Through periodic amendments, a number of these programs were reconstructed and given reinforcements to strengthen their efforts. Such programs continued to flourish until the establishment of other services in the 1960's. During the decade of the sixties, new federally funded programs with a primary focus on the problems of disadvantaged minority groups were developed in an attempt to address the increased upswing in poverty.

As Franklin Roosevelt was the force behind the "New Deal" of the 1930's, Lyndon Johnson was the developer of the "War on Poverty" in the 1960's. The proposed war on poverty sought to implement massive social changes for the poor by investing in low cost housing, schools, hospitals, and transportation systems. The initiation of such widesweeping changes were prompted by the realization that the problems of the poor could not be sufficiently solved by the poor themselves, nor by the goodwill efforts of charitable groups or existing social agencies. Moreover, it was recognized that the most effective approach to the problems of the poor entailed comprehensive programs which would touch every segment of their lives, not merely isolated aspects (Ferman, 1969).

Public attitudes regarding anti-poverty efforts during the sixties differed substantially from those in the thirties. The public better accepted the premise of the anti-poverty movement in the sixties. Much of the impetus for this favorable attitude could be attributed to a more enlightended public with greater sensitivity to the poverty problem. Moreover, Ferman (1969) identified six social currents that increased the anti-poverty movement, (1) the technological revolution of the fifties and sixties with consequent erosion and dislocation; (2) the internal challenge to the economy posed by the Cold War; (3) the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's; (4) the increased financial costs of social welfare programs; (5) the increase in crime and juvenile delinquency, and (6) the crisis among youth and in the schools. All of these events contributed to the further establishment of governmental programs to aid in the reduction and/or elimination of urban and rural poverty.

In 1964 President Johnson initiated the Economic Opportunity Act, which served as the vehicle for funding his war on poverty. The primary theme of this Act centered on the contention that poverty in the midst of plenty was wrong, and that the poor, particularly children, should be allowed the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. In order to accomplish its goals, the Poverty Act was designed to make taxpayers out of relief recipients. This was to be accomplished by opening new avenues of opportunity. Operation of the proposed anti-poverty strategy was to be carried out by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Through such legislation as the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the OEO operated a large number of programs and agencies designed to train, educate and provide employment opportunities for youths. In addition, the Food Stamps Act was initiated in 1964 which allowed people with low incomes to purchase food at subsidized prices. This program proved to be an aid not only to those with low incomes, but also to the agricultural sector and related marketing industries.

As an awareness of the poverty problem heightened, there emerged an increase in involvement by both the federal and private sectors. This joint involvement marked the turning point in coordinated efforts to contribute relief to the impoverished. As noted, many of the reasons for increased government intervention were due to changes in public attitudes and opinions regarding the poor. The negative attitude toward the poor was based in large part on the assumption that poverty was the result of individual laziness and the lack of initiative. Such attitudes had been further prompted by the continued relocation of the affluent to suburbia, which both limited and hindered their knowledge and understanding of the plight of the urban inner city poor and resulted in a lack of awareness regarding poverty in the rural sector (Ferman, 1969).

With the realization of the widespread existence of poverty came the need to identify and define the impoverished. The poor of today have been characterized as those who accept their state of impoverishment by regarding poverty as a permanent way of life (Herzog, 1973; Lewis, 1969). This characterization of the new poor differs from earlier definitions because of the introduction of new influences. As society moved into a technological and highly skilled era, employment opportunities decreased for the uneducated and unskilled, who primarily represent those in poverty. The results have been a less receptive labor market and fewer employment opportunities.

While many efforts have been undertaken to reduce poverty, the majority of these efforts have taken place within the urban sector. The concentrated urban effort was based on the widespread poverty visible within the nation's cities. In addition, the larger share of funds for social programs was distributed to the urban sector because of population numbers and the receptive attitudes of the urban sector in addressing the problems of poverty. On the other hand, fewer funds were available for social assistance in the rural sector, and many rural residents were relucant to accept federal assistance. Because rural areas lacked adequate financial resources for social welfare programs and the opportunity to improve the quality of life, many of the rural poor migrated to other locations in an effort to escape the continuing poverty in the rural areas (Morrison, 1972; Fried, 1969; Lansing and Mueller, 1967). As sustaining conditions of poverty, particularly in the rural South, created limited opportunities and restricted choices, rural young adults were left with few alternatives outside the traditional farm area. The result was a continued depletion of the younger rural labor force or persons between the ages of 18 to 30.

Perhaps no place else have the deprivation and debilitating effects of poverty been as prevalent as in the rural sector, where conditions were intensified by the onslaught of agricultural technology and the eventual displacement of large numbers of farm laborers. As farm machinery replaced the human element, many uneducated and unskilled rural laborers were left with declining and insufficient sources of income, insufficient health care and housing, and massive unemployment (Maitland and Knebel, 1968; Smith, 1966; Teauber, 1959). In addition, rural residents were further handicapped by racial discrimination.

In examining social services from a rural perspective, there appears to be variations present in those factors which relate services to urban and rural residents. Aside from the obvious differences between these locations (population size, lifestyle, etc.), there also emerges variations in the quantity and quality of services provided and in the attitudes of the two populations regarding social services utilization. Several explanations may be cited for the differences between rural and urban social services. Generally, low income rural residents, particularly within the farming sector, have traditionally lived in conditions which were primarily influenced by the productivity of the land. In such cases, the existence of sharecroppers, tenent, and small farmers was dependent on the annual level of farm production. Further, these residents were not necessarily aware of sources of assistance which would aid in the elimination of poverty conditions since such conditions were considered the norm, and programs believed to be "welfare" had a negative stigma attached. The most frequent alternative became out-migration. For the black rural resident, out-movement was essentially the only alternative since discriminatory practices prevented the utilization of social agencies managed by local inhabitants (Davis and Donaldson, 1975). Therefore, the earlier association between the quality of rural life and the efforts of social services proved to be limited, whereas later associations, although better, were still perhaps less than expected.

In reviewing the development and operation of past and present federal assistance programs, it is important to note the shortcomings of such programs in reducing poverty. One shortcoming which has continued to plague the effectiveness of poverty reduction programs is the continued presence of racially discriminatory practices in the distribution of social services. During the initial development of social services under the Roosevelt Administration, there were no provisions to address this problem. Consequently, the allocation of social assistance was frequently left to the unfair and uneven practices of state and local officials. Unfortunately, such conditions persisted into anti- poverty programs during the 1960's, thus preventing agencies from effectively fulfilling their responsibilities to minority groups.

Social Programs and Reduced Poverty

In examining social service programs, questions are posed regarding their effectiveness in realizing improvement in the quality of life of the recipients. Because these agencies were established to assist in reducing poverty it is important to examine the degree of their success in actually reducing poverty. This becomes particularly significant when these efforts are focused on the rural sector. Substantial efforts have been made in the enhancement and improvement of rural and urban life. The impoverished have been given opportunities not otherwise available, and offered alternatives to out-migration as the primary means of improving their well-being. But in evaluating the success of these programs the concensus tends to suggest substantial shortcomings in their efforts to reduce poverty. These shortcomings are based on the inability of anti-poverty programs to actually realize significant declines in the number of persons below the poverty level. Although reductions have occurred, a report by the OEO (1973) indicated that the war on poverty programs was not directly responsible for this decline.[1] Moreover, the report noted that the most important aspect of the project was that it brought to the attention of the American public the existence of poverty, an awareness of the poverty strata (blacks and other minorities, farm-workers and small farmers, and immigrants), and made the invisible poor more invisible. The project, in addition, induced the poor to become more self-assertive and conscious of their rights. They began to seek the equal opportunities that were available to them (Meissner, 1973).

Conclusion

Social services have become an intricate part of the American way of life by providing resources and services not otherwise available to combat poverty. But in spite of the great strides made in the reduction of poverty, there remains an ever growing number of Americans below the poverty level, persons who must depend in great part on assistance from governmental sources for their well-being. Because of this dependency and the increasing need and demand for public assistance, the efforts of social services agencies are challenged. In order to address this increased responsibility, the social services system must first examine its current organizational structure. The possible reorganization of public assistance programs has become an important aspect in determining the direction and capabilities of the system. To provide the types of assistance necessary, it has become essential that planners within the system take into consideration the increasing diversity of needs among the persons requiring public assistance. In addition, those who implement social services should consider the characteristics of the local situation (metro and nonmetro) since services needed in urban areas may differ markedly from those needed in the rural ones.

---

[1] The number of low income person decreased by approximately one-third between 1959 and 1970 while familes with female heads increased, but blacks and other minorities did not change significantly during this period.

REFERENCES

Burns, E. M.
1949 *The American Social Security System.* (Under the editor ship of Marion Hathway). Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co.
Davis, G. and O. Donaldson.
1975 *Blacks in the U.S.: A Geographic Perspective.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
Ferman, L. A.
1969 *Poverty In America.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Fried, M.
1969 "Deprivation and Migration: Dilemma of Causal Interpretation," *On Understanding Poverty,* ed. by D. P. Moynihan. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.
Herzog, E.
1973 "Is There a Culture of Poverty?" *Poverty in the Affluent Society,* ed. by H. H. Meissner. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.
Lansing, J. D. and E. Mueller.
1967 *The Geographic Mobility of Labor.* Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.
Lewis, O.
1969 "The Culture of Poverty," *On Understanding Poverty.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
Maitland, S. J. and S. M. Knebel.
1968 "Rural of Urban Transition," *Monthly Labor Review,* June.

McKinley and Frase.
1970 *Launching Social Security*. The University of Wisconsin Press, p. 12.

Meissner, H. H.
1973 *Poverty in the Affluent Society*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Morrison, P. A.
1972 *The Impact and Significance of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States*. Santa Monica: The Rand Corp. (P-4752).

Piven, F. F. and R. A. Cloward.
1971 *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Schultz, J. E.
1973 "Policy and Welfare Reform". Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Smith, T. L.
1966 "The Redistribution of the Negro Population of the U.S., 1910-1960," *The Journal of Negro History*, LI (3).

Teauber, C.
1959 "Migration in the U.S.: Economic and Social Implications of Internal Migration in the U. S.," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 41.

Waxman, C. I.
1968 *The End of Ideology Debate*, ed., New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

Wilcox, E. F.
1969 *Studies in the American Race Problem*. New York: Negro Universities Press.

Chapter 10

Rural Poverty in the South: Recommendations Pertaining to Socio-Demographic Factors

Dinker I. Patel and Chinna Kanthi

ABSTRACT

The problem of southern poverty is examined with reference to alternative theoretical perspectives and within the context of longitudinal poverty trends. A comparision of poverty by race revealed that the poverty rate was three times higher for the black than the white population. Findings from a ten-state southern regional survey substantiate the varying degree to which socio-demographic characteristics are correlated with poverty. A comparision of the poor versus the nonpoor subpopulation reveals disproportionately higher rates of poverty among the elderly, females, blacks; those with low education, persons holding semi-skilled jobs, and those in large families.

Recommendations to help the poor include the increased role of state agencies and local community action groups. Coordinated efforts to assist individuals to receive training and placement with local business and industry would enable more persons to be self-sufficient. Comprehensive social and economic development plans in various communities throughout the rural South will contribute to the reduction of poverty levels. It is also suggested that the resources of land-grant institutions through research and extension programs be utilized to improve the well-being of the disadvantaged in the rural South.

Introduction

Poverty in America became a matter of national concern in the decade of the sixties. A long neglected problem gained attention and support when in 1963, President Kennedy ordered a full scale attack on poverty. Dr. Martin Luther King, led a civil rights demonstration during the same year drawing attention to racism, unemployment, hunger and poverty. President Lyndon Johnson declared a War on Poverty. The thrust of the "war" was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which provided for training jobs, work experience programs and small business loans (Rodgers, 1979, Donovan, 1973).

The attack on poverty resulted in the initiation and implementation of both public and private programs in the mid-sixties through the seventies and continuing into the eighties. Studies are still under way to measure the effectiveness of ongoing programs. Overall, during the last two decades there have been some improvements in the condition of the poor. However, poverty still persists in many areas of the country.

The purpose of this Chapter is to present recommendations which, if implemented, will lead to improvements in the overall quality of life of persons in poverty. To provide the reader with a contextual framework of the poverty problem, the recommendations will be preceded by a brief discussion of (a) theoretical background, (b) trends in poverty, and (c) the ten state regional study.

Theoretical Background

A number of theoretical perspectives have been advanced to identify the causes of poverty. These include the individualistic culture of poverty theory, fatalistic theory, and theories based on structural and functional explanations.

Individualistic theories of poverty look for the causes of poverty in an individual's personality and behavior. In a national survey by Feagin (1972), the top ranked reasons for poverty were: lack of thrift and money management, lack of effort, lack of ability and talent, loose morals and drunkenness. Other reasons included-low wages, poor schools, prejudice and discrimination, and failure of industry to provide jobs.

The "culture of poverty" concept developed by Lewis (1966) asserts that the poor form a subculture with a distinct set of values, attitudes, and norms of conduct for coping with daily living. According to culturalists, these unique patterns of behavior and values are transmitted intergenerationally through socialization and have become the sub-cultural determinants of the lower socio-economic status poor (Waxman, 1977:7).

Fatalistic assumptions attribute poverty to factors such as fate, bad luck, or divine will. To support such assumptions, it is noted that religious commitments are often stronger among the disadvantaged than among the more successful (Hess, 1982).

Structural explanations of poverty focus on economic, educational and discrimination factors. The personality traits and behavior patterns of the poor are viewed as responses to structural conditions rather than causes of poverty. Merton (1968) in recognizing the diverse consequences of social structure argues that sociocultural factors may be functional or dysfunctional for individuals or subgroups in a society. For an elaboration of the structural functionalism approach to the study of poverty see Chapter 1.

Trends in Poverty

Almost forty million people, comprising 22.4 percent of the American population were classified as living in poverty in 1959. The number of persons in poverty from 1959 to 1982 are shown in Table 1. A variety of social programs and growth in the overall economy have led to a steady decline in both the number and proportion of persons in poverty. There was, however, a slight increment in the number of poor persons in 1969, 1970, 1973. Numerically, there were slightly less than 23 million persons in poverty in 1973, making up ll.1 percent of the population. In 1982, 34.4 million persons, or 15 percent of the American population, was in poverty - the highest rate recorded since 1965.

A disaggregation of the population by race shows that in 1959, there were 28.5 million whites with a poverty rate of 18.1 percent. During the same year, 9.9 million blacks with a poverty rate of 55.1 percent were in poverty. A comparison of the annual trend in poverty by race (Table 1) shows that the poverty rate was three times higher for the black than for the white population. This trend has been consistent throughout the past two decades.

The increase in poverty between 1981 and 1982 affected all segments of the U.S. population. In 1982, there were 23.5 million whites, 9.7 million blacks and 4.3 million persons of Spanish origin below the poverty level. Poverty rates increased to 12.0 percent for whites, 35.6 percent for blacks and 29.9 percent for persons of Spanish origin. Among the factors contributing to an increase in the poverty rate were the recession that persisted in 1982 and associated unemployment, and the tightening of eligibility standards for certain government programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The distribution of the U.S. population by age, sex, race and residence (Table 2) shows the following features.

166

Table 10-1. Persons Below the Poverty Level, 1959-1982

Year	All Persons	Poverty Rate	White	Poverty Rate	Black	Poverty Rate
1982	34,398	15.0	23,517	12.1	9,697	35.6
1981	31,822	14.0	21,553	11.1	9,173	34.2
1980	29,272	13.0	19,600	10.2	8,579	32.5
1979	26,072	11.7	17,214	9.0	8,050	31.0
1978	24,497	11.4	16,259	8.7	7,625	30.6
1977	24,720	11.6	16,416	8.9	7,726	31.3
1976	25,975	11.8	16,713	9.1	7,595	31.1
1975	25,975	12.3	17,770	9.7	7,545	31.3
1974	23,370	11.2	15,736	8.6	7,182	30.3
1973	22,973	11.1	15,142	8.4	7,388	31.4
1972	24,460	11.9	16,203	9.0	7,710	33.3
1971	25,559	12.5	17,760	9.9	7,396	32.5
1970	25,420	12.6	17,484	9.9	7,548	33.5
1969	24,147	12.1	16,659	9.5	7,095	32.2
1968	25,389	12.8	17,395	10.0	7,616	24.7
1967	27,769	14.2	18,983	11.0	8,486	39.3
1966	28,510	14.7	19,290	11.3	8,867	41.8
1965	33,185	17.3	22,496	13.3	—	—
1960	39,851	22.2	28,309	17.8	—	—
1959	39,490	22.4	28,484	18.1	9,927	55.1

U.S Bureau of the Census. "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1982" Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 140.

Table 10-2. Poverty Status by Race and Residence, 1982

		Total			White			Black	
		Below Poverty			Below Poverty			Below Poverty	
	Total	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent
All ages	229,412	34,398	15.0	195,919	23,517	12.0	27,216	9,697	35.6
Under 18 years	62,345	13,647	21.9	50,920	8,678	17.0	9,401	4,472	47.6
65 years and over	25,738	3,751	14.6	23,234	2,870	12.4	2,124	811	38.3
Male	111,175	14,842	13.4	94,482	10,306	10.8	12,666	3,975	31.4
Female	118,237	19,556	16.5	100,438	13,212	13.2	14,550	5,722	39.3
Non-farm	223,801	33,160	14.8	190,531	22,386	11.7	27,034	9,603	35.5
Farm	5,611	1,238	22.1	5,389	1,131	21.0	182	93	51.4
Inside Metro area	155,634	21,247	13.7	130,066	13,563	10.4	20,599	6,897	33.5
Outside metro area	73,778	13,152	17.8	65,853	9,955	15.1	6,617	27,790	42.3
Northeast	49,054	6,364	13.0	43,331	4,666	10.8	4,827	1,523	31.6
North Central	58,228	7,772	13.3	52,284	5,527	10.6	5,147	2,050	39.8
South	77,375	13,967	18.1	61,715	8,297	13.4	14,578	5,487	37.6
West	44,754	6,296	14.1	38,589	5,027	13.0	2,664	636	23.9

U.S. Bureau of Census, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1982." Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 140.

First, the younger age groups are more prone to poverty. This is indicated by the fact that one in every five persons under 18 years of age or 13.5 million persons were in poverty in 1982. Secondly, females had a higher rate of poverty (16.5 percent) than their male counterparts (13.4 percent). In fact, the black female rate of 39.3 percent was three times higher than that for white males. The black male poverty rate was 31.4 percent, while the rate for white males was 10.8 percent.

A third finding revealed by the data in Table 2 is that the poverty rate was higher for the farm population (22.1 percent) than for the nonfarm population (14.8 percent). One of every two blacks living on farms was living below the poverty level in 1982.

Fourth, a comparison of the population in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas reveals a 13.7 percent poverty rate in the metropolitan areas, whereas the rate is 17.8 percent in the non-metropolitan areas. The non-metro area poverty rates for whites and blacks were 15.3 percent and 42.3 percent, respectively.

Finally, using the data in Table 2, one can compare the poverty rates for different regions of the country. Following are the rates of poverty for different regions of the country: Northeast, 13.0 percent; North Central, 13.3 percent; West, 18.1 percent; and South, 18.1 percent. The poverty rate for southern whites was 13.4 percent compared to 37.6 percent for southern blacks.

Ten-state Regional Survey

Researchers in 1890 institutions working on a regional project entitled "Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South" conducted a survey of households in ten contiguous southeastern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. A multi-stage sampling procedure involved selecting three counties in each state with at least 30 sample clusters within the three counties, and eight households within each cluster. The three sample counties within each state may be described as racially-mixed, rural counties with low median family incomes. For a more detailed explanation of the survey procedures see Chapter 2.

The interview schedule consisted of five sections: 1. Demographic characteristics; 2. Community and life satisfaction; 3. Agency utilization and client satisfaction; 4. Values, attitudes and beliefs, and 5. Consumer behavior.

A description of the ten-state data set utilizing state level comparisions' was provided in a publication entitled "Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low-income Areas of the Rural South: A Basebook". An underlying trend that characterized the data was that while there was some variation in the state-to-state level of poverty, the poverty index was correlated with socio-demographic factors. Furthermore, while it is recognized that poverty is a multivariate problem, the formulation of recommendations has been undertaken by examining the relationship between individual variables and poverty.

Population Characteristics and Recommendations

In this section, the relationship between socio-demographic factors and poverty is examined. The variables measured include age, sex, family status, family size, education, occupation and race. The contribution of these variables to the poverty status of persons in the ten state southern region is discussed below. Recommendations relative to each variable follow. Finally, other strategies for poverty reduction, including the role of land grant institutions, through research and extension work in local communities is suggested.

Poverty and Age

The age composition of a community provides a measure of the different demands on the community for facilities and services. The needs of a growing community with young inmigrants are different than those of a community which is experiencing population losses.

The median age of the head of household in the ten state southern region was 51 years. Two of every three households were living below the poverty level. The median age for the poor versus the non-poor for the region was 58.7 years and 46.4 years, respectively. The age differential is indicative of the "people left behind." It is a consequence of net out-migration of young adults from depressed areas.

Persons under 18 years of age comprise a cohort having higher levels of poverty than other age cohorts. For the most part the under 18 groups include the dependent segment of the population.

> Recommendations: Local communities in each state must assess the needs of the elderly poor, who live on fixed incomes. For example, how do they fare in terms of health, nutrition, access to services, transportation and housing? What strategies could be employed to improve needs of the poor elderly?
>
> The needs of preschool children as well as youth must be assessed in each community. An effort must be made to meet the special needs of these groups that have disproportionately higher rates of poverty.

Poverty and Sex

Families with a female head are more likely to be impoverished than families with a male head of household. In this study, 61.4 percent of the female heads lived below the poverty income compared to 32.7 percent of the male heads of household.

> Recommendation: The economic situation of women should be strengthened through enhancing their employability by improved education, vocational counseling, and job experiences. Improving the opportunities of teenage girls and young women to work on appropriate jobs that are suited to the individual women's lifestyle situation will contribute to their overall well-being.

Family Status

Unrelated individuals, not living in families are twice as likely to be in poverty as those living in families. However, most Americans live in families. The marital status of the poor revealed that 53 percent were married and 30 percent widowed. Those that were never married comprised 7 percent, while 11 percent were either divorced or separated. It would appear that a disproportionally large number of those that are widowed suffer from poverty.

> Recommendation: Special attention should be given to the needs of poor persons who are widowed, divorced, or separated, as well as to other individuals not living in families.

Poverty and Family Size

The data from the study show that the average number of children for the poor and nonpoor was 3.8 and 2.4, respectively. Large numbers of children not only constitutes a sizable drain on family resources, but also restricts the mother to the home.

> Recommendation: Counseling mothers in family planning, and assisting in the provision of child care for those who seek employment will help remedy the adverse effect on the poor and near-poor families.

Poverty and Education

People across America are beginning to show their concern about the quality of education. The ten state regional study revealed that two-fifths of the household heads that were poor had only eight years of education. In contrast, the median level of education for the nonpoor was 11.8 years. The educational attainment of blacks was in general lower than that of whites.

> Recommendations: The findings of this study point to the need for local school decision makers to develop strategies for developing school structures and programs to improve the overall quality and delivery of education. Policy makers must consider the local, private, social and spill over benefits of education to determine the total returns from education. Finally schools can explore alternatives to prepare children from poverty-stricken backgrounds to relate effectively with the wider world.

Poverty and Occupation

An examination of the regional population by occupational category revealed that a higher proportion of the nonpoor were in professional, technical, managerial, sales and other similar occupations whereas those in poverty were concentrated in high numbers as farmers, non-farm laborers, private houseworkers, and service workers.

Black women make up a large proportion of the labor force in the latter two categories.

> Recommendation: With the onset of the computer age and changes in the occupational structure, blacks' access to better education, training and retraining will have to be improved. This in turn will enable them to compete for better paying and more prestigious jobs.

Poverty and Race

Regionally, in the ten state area, almost two-thirds of the respondents in poverty were black, whereas only one-third of the impoverished were white. Since poverty is more widespread among blacks than whites, discrimination factors must be examined. Almost half of the persons in the sample indicated that discrimination in securing a job was a problem. More than 70 percent of the respondents in South Carolina, where 65 percent of the respondents were black, felt race was a problem in securing employment in their community.

Southern blacks constitute the largest ethnic minority group in rural America. The disproportionate number of blacks in poverty can, in part, be attributed to the fact that blacks are afflicted by negative social prejudices and a pattern of negative personal and institutional discrimination.

> Recommendation: The situational factors and particular needs of rural blacks must be examined in their struggle for human and social betterment. The extent to which patterned discrimination imposed on blacks influences their life chances in such fundamental areas as education and employment must be evaluated.

Other Recommendations

Improved coordination of agencies that provide some assistance to the poor will enable services to be delivered more effectively and at a lower cost. Community action agencies can help coordinate efforts by state agencies, local businesses, and industries to create jobs which will expand the economic horizons of the poor.

Comprehensive social and economic development plans in various communities throughout the rural south will contribute to the reduction of poverty.

Finally, the recommendations made in this study can be implemented in part through the use of resources at the land-grant institutions. The research and extension components can work together in gathering and processing information and becoming instrumental in providing technical assistance in designing and initiating viable programs to improve the quality of life of limited resource persons.

REFERENCES

Brown, P. G., Johnson, Conrad and Vernier, P.
1981 Income Support. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield

Deaton, B. and McNamara, K. T.
1984 Education in a Changing Environment. Mississippi State, MS.: Southern Rural Development Center.

Donovan, J. C.
1973 The Politics of Poverty. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill.

1890 Land Grant Institutions
1983 Isolation of Factors of Living in *Low*-Income Areas of the Rural South: A Basebook. 1890 Land Grant Regional Research Publication No. 1. Normal, Alabama: Alabama A&M Unviersity.

Feagin, J. R.
1972 "We Still Believe That God Helps Those Who Help Themselves." Psychology Today. p. 104.

Fitchen, J. M.
1981 Poverty in Rural America. Boulder: Westview Press.

Fox, W. S. and Faine, J. R.
1973 "Trends in White-Nonwhite Income Inequality." Sociology and Social Research. Vol. 57., No. 3, pp. 288-299.

Harrington, M.
1966 The Other America. Baltimore: Penguin.

Hess, B. B., Martison, E. W. and Stein, P. J.
1980 Social Inequality in Sociology. New York: MacMillan. pp. 180-201.

Lewis O.
1966 "The Culture of Poverty." Scientific American. Vol. 215, No. 4, pp. 19-25.

Matias, J.
1984 Social Inequality, Stratification, and Mobility. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
Merton, Robert E.
1981 The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, p. 444 in Don Martindale (Second Edition). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Rodgers, H. R. Jr.
1979 Poverty Amid Plenty: A Political and Economic Analysis. Reading, Mass.: Addission-Wesley.
Oldenquist A.
1983 "The Decline of American Education in the 60's and 70's". American Education. May 1983.
President's National Advisory Commission Rural Poverty.
1968 Rural Poverty in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
Tweeten, L. G.
1967 The Role of Education in Alleviating Rural Poverty. Washington, D.C.: USDA-ERS Report No. 114.
Waxman, C. I.
1977 The Stigma of Poverty: A Critique of Poverty Theories and Policies. New York: Pergamon.

Chapter 11

Recommendations Pertaining to Policies Affecting Availability, Accessibility, and Utilization of Agencies

Marguerite R. Howie and Robert L. Phillips, Jr.

ABSTRACT

This Chapter provides an historical overview of the development of the welfare system from an eleemosynary to a governmental function. In the process, poverty and programs attendant thereto have become "structural," that is, built into the economy.

Data are presented to examine the effectiveness of anti-poverty programs. The findings evaluate the thesis that the structure of our economy flourishes on "the underclass."

The data are based (1) on individual survey information of the availability, accessibility and utilization of agency services; (2) on information provided by responses of agency directors to a questionnaire survey, and (3) on federal and state agency policies. On the bases of these data, recommendations are made to effectuate change that will enhance the quality of services rendered to the eligible clientele.

Historical Introduction

In American culture, economists have alluded to poverty as "structural" (i.e., built into the economy). The traditional approach to poverty has been to view it as a dependent variable and the economy as an independent variable. Thus, poverty and the factors attendant thereto which fall in the domains of demographic, geographic, socio-psychological, and historical/ethnographic attributes become spokes in the umbrella which is the economic institutional structure wherein we reside.

Many of the roots of the American "melting pot" stem from England. Theoretically, social welfare is the practice which originally grew out of the English poor laws. These poor laws eventually became the government policies. The philosophy behind the English poor laws evolved in the United States as programs were established to alleviate poverty and aid the poor. In the process of cultural transmission, acculturation, and accommodation, the English interpretations have been modified and adjusted.

Jan L. Hagen (1982: 108-119) provided a conceptual treatise which identifies the beginning of the poor laws with the embryonic statute of Richard II in 1388. This edict not only distinguished between the impotent and the able-bodied poor, but "introduced into legislation the concept of settlement, meaning legal residence, as a condition for assistance" (Hagen, 1982: 109).

In 1530, Henry VIII initiated the principle of responsibility for the poor by the establishment of the first comprehensive system of relief under government sponsorship. This program recognized that one may be able to work, but not able to obtain a job.

Although the concept of social settlements was introduced as early as the fourteenth century, Toynbee Hall in London, the first social settlement, was not founded until the nineteenth century. Cannon Samuel A. Barnett enlightened some undergraduates at Oxford University about the conditions of poverty, needs of the poor, and the scarcity of education and recreation for them. In 1884, a group of students enabled Barnett to crystallize his philanthropic endeavors and Toynbee Hall (named in honor of one of the students, Arnold Toynbee), referred to by many as a "university of the poor," was established (Encyclopedia of Social Work, Vol. II, 1262).

The early settlement houses in the United States were patterned after the Toynbee Hall model which their founders had visited in London. The not so frequently recorded and acclaimed Neighborhood Guild in New York City, founded by Dr. Stanton A. Coit in 1886, and Chicago's world famous Hull House, founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889, were the fountainheads of institutionalized agencies designed to combat problems of the poor. These charitable, establishments in their policies recognized the multidimensional needs of various categories of the poor.

Functional to understanding the poor as researched in this study is the typology promulgated by the twentieth century black sociologist, Andrew Billingsley (1968: 137-139). His typology characterized the working non-poor, the working poor, and the nonworking poor, or those at the bottom rung of the lower-class ladder, the "underclass" (Pinkney, 1975). The underlying thrust of each has been to implement social changes to cope with the problems associated with poverty.

Findings Based on the Agency Directors' Questionnaire

Of the 270 questionnaires mailed to agency directors, 217 or 80% were returned. The responses treated six variables: (1) staffing; (2) client case-load; (3) client satisfaction; (4) agency needs; (5) modes of publicity, and (6) client transportation.

First, of the full-time employees in agencies, Vocational Rehabilitation had 1,930 or 32.8%, the highest number reported by the agencies researched. However, they had the third smallest number of part-time employees (5.9%).

Mental Health was the second largest agency with 859 or 14.6 percent of the total employees reported. Also, Mental Health had the largest number of part-time employees, 146 or 25.8 percent of the part-time totals.

The Veterans' Administration agency had the third largest total of full-time employees with 752 or 12.8 percent of the totals. Of the part-time employees, Veterans' Administration had the smallest number of employees with 11 or 1.9 percent.

The Social Security agency followed closely behind the Veterans' Administration with 729 or 12.4 percent of the full-time employees group. Social Security had 50 or 8.8 percent of the total number of part-time employees reported.

Furthermore, it was revealed that the average number of full-time employees by agencies showed that Vocational Rehabilitation had the greatest number of all agencies with 101.6 per agency. Following Vocational Rehabilitation and ranking second was Veterans' Administration with 37.6 average number of full-time employees. Mental Health was ranked third with 35.8 and Social Security was fourth with 30.4 full-time employees per agency.

By contrast, Farmers Home Administration had the least number of full-time employees with an average of 3.6 per agency. Employment Security was seventh with an average of 11.8 per agency and Commission on Aging was ranked eighth with 10.4 per agency.

Analysis of the data on the average number of part-time employees reported by agencies showed Mental Health was ranked first with an average of 6.1 part-time employees. Commission on Aging was second with an average of 6.0 and Health Services was third with an average of 3.1 part-time employees per agency.

Veterans' Administration had the lowest average among the part-time employees at 0.6 per agency. Following Veterans' Administration was Farmers Home Adminstration with an average of 0.7 part-time employees, and Employment Security was ranked seventh with an average of 1.6 part-time employees per agency.

Second, when the number of clients served by agencies per month was examined, Food Stamps was the largest in this category. Food Stamps reported 46,120 or 21.9 percent of the 210,682 clients served per month by the agencies responding. The mean number of clients is 2,562. Social Security had the second largest client load or clients served per month with 44,900 or 21.3 percent. The mean number of clients served per month by Social Security is 1,871.

The third largest agency in this category was Health Services, which serviced 34,911 clients per month. Health Services had a mean of 1,264 clients or 16.6 percent of the total clients served by all agencies.

Farmers Home Administration had a monthly clientele of 6,723 or 3.2 percent of totals. The mean for this agency was 240.

An examination of the number of clients served per month by the number of full-time employees provided the following results: Food Stamps had the largest client to full-time employee ratio with 124.3 clients; Commission on Aging was second with 79.5; Farmers Home Administration was third with 63.4; Employment Security was fourth with 62.5; Social Security was fifth with 61.5; Health Services was sixth with 60.1; Mental Health was seventh with 20.2; Veterans' Administration was eighth with 15.9, and Vocational Rehabilitation had the lowest client/full-time employee ratio with 5.1. The low ratio for Vocational Rehabilitation and Veterans' Administration may be attributed to the descriptive qualifications delimiting their clientele.

Third, agency directors were asked if formal client satisfaction surveys were conducted by their agencies. Of the total sample, 36.3 percent responded positively. Vocational Rehabilitation had the highest number of units conducting client satisfaction surveys with 15 or 20 percent of the totals. By contrast, Farmers Home Administration reported only one unit conducting client satisfaction surveys.

Fourth, each agency was asked to list its most pressing needs in rank order. Staffing surfaced the most pressing need with 41.5 percent of the agencies identifying this item. Staffing needs were more than 2 to 1 over the second response as a need, capital, with 20.3 percent.

Transportation was listed as a pressing need by 15.5 percent of the agencies, and Vocational Rehabilitation was the only agency that responded that staffing was not a pressing need. However, Vocational Rehabilitation listed capital as a most pressing need.

Fifth, the agency directors were asked to rank their methods of publicizing their agency. The newspaper is the most frequently used mode for publicizing agencies and their services. Radio/television was ranked second, while referrals was third.

Sixth, of the agencies providing transportation, two agencies provided no transportation for clients (Employment Security and Farmers Home Administration). Of the 34.2 percent of agencies which provide transportation, Commission on Aging agencies had the greatest percentage (23.6). Mental Health was second (20.8 percent) and Vocational Rehabilitation was third (18.1 percent). Only one of the Social Security agencies provided transportation for clients.

Findings Based on the Individual Survey Responses

Four of the variables extrapolated from the individual survey instrument parallel, in context, those analyzed in the agency directors' questionnaire. They were (1) client satisfaction, (2) communication sources, and (3) client transportation. However, an additional variable was relevant to the assessment of agency services, namely, utilization of agency services.

The data on the rating of the services of the eight agencies (an indication of client satisfaction) revealed, only one agency was rated "fair to poor" by a percentage of respondents greater than ten. The Employment Security Commission (Job Services) was ranked first with 15.8 percent of the respondents rating the services rendered as "fair to poor." The range for the "fair to poor" category was 15.8 percent for Employment Security to 3.7 percent for the Commission on Aging. However, the Commission on Aging data were skewed toward the "satisfied" group inasmuch as the number of reported cases is small (N=38).

The rank-order of the remaining agencies were: third, Mental Health (9.3 percent); fourth, Food Stamps (8.3 percent); fifth, Farmers Home Administration (7.6 percent); sixth, Social Security (5.8 percent); seventh, Veteran's Administration (5.76 percent), and eighth, Health Services (5.7 percent).

A comparison between federal versus state operated agencies showed, with the exceptions of the Commission on Aging and Health

Services, that the respondents were more satisfied with the federal agencies (Veteran's Administration, Social Security and Farmers Home Administration). Overall, the data indicate that by far the majority of the respondents were satisfied with the services received from the eight agencies. However, more attention needs to be given by agency personnel and policymakers to address the needs of the dissatisfied clientele.

"Lack of information", the most frequent answer given by the respondents for under-utilization of agencies, was "Didn't know what services are offered by specific agencies" (55.5 percent), followed by "Transportation as a problem" (25.3 percent).

With more than half of the respondents "not knowing about" or "where to go for the needed services," an examination of the Agency Directors' Questionnaire data on publicity techniques seemed feasible. These results revealed the following: (1) the newspaper (33.7 percent) was the major source for publicizing agency services; (2) radio/television was second, and (3) brochures ranked third. In order to critique the effectiveness of these techniques, the answers by the respondents to the source(s) of knowledge of the agency services were scrutinized. Slightly over 34 percent of the respondents stated "friends or relatives" were the primary source of information about agencies and/or their services; however, newspapers were last (2 percent), and radio/TV had a mere 3.8 percent of the responses.

The data also revealed that slightly more than one fourth of the respondents felt that lack of transportation is a cause for under-utilization of agencies. The aforementioned response was more prevelant among those heads of households who were below poverty. Responses from persons in this category indicated that only one in three had transportation (own car/truck). An examination of the distance to agencies responses showed that the average distance to all agencies was 11.5 miles.

Interrogation about "Transportation Cost To Agencies," showed that 31.2 percent of the respondents paid from one dollar to $4.99, with 14.8 percent paying between five dollars to $9.99. The average cost per trip to agencies was $5.37.

The agency directors were asked to list their agency's "most pressing needs." More than 41 percent of the directors listed "staffing" as their most pressing need, followed by capital (20.3 percent) and transportation (15.2 percent). An examination of the number of clients served per month by the number of full-time employees showed that the average ratio was 51 clients to one full-time employee.

Policy Recommendations Based on Findings

Policies, with attendant revisions, were secured for the federally operated agencies (i.e., Farmers Home Administration, Social Security and Veterans' Administration). The state operated agencies with guidelines filtering down from the federal government were Commission on Aging, Employment Security, Food Stamps, and Health Services. Mental Health was the only agency without external input into its policy structure, therefore wide discrepancies existed in the type and quality of the regulations existing within the various states.

1. *Uniformity:* Whereas the prime goal of each agency is to meet the needs of the clientele, Mental Health is sorely needed. Some existing regional body such as the Southern Growth Policies Board may undertake resolution of this problem.
2. *Financial support:* Where federal and state grants are available there should be: (a) elasticity in the provisions for recipients who are elderly, (b) deferred payments for clients affected by economic slumps and natural disasters, (c) escalation of benefits commensurate with the cost of living index, and (d) retention of eligibility for dependent or disabled persons even when the household recipient fails to comply with stipulated requirements.
3. *Client review rights:* Whereas persons utilizing agency services are generally those who can least afford delays in service delivery, policies involving red tape appeal tactics and waiting period of being of service should be re-evaluated and re-structured so as not to discriminate against the total household.
4. *Benefits involving fuel:* Whereas energy, per se, is the need, benefits involving fuel should be inclusive of any type commodity within the energy producing category.
5. *Maternity benefits:* Whereas all applicable clientele need the right to benefits, the history of the patient's condition in a previous pregnancy should be considered for High Risk Prenatal Program assistance.
6. *Communication and outreach media:* Whereas the recipients or probable recipients of an agency service represent the target population, communication and outreach programs should be enhanced via the channels most effective for the populace.
7. *Transportation of clients:* Whereas transportation poses a hardship and burdensome expense to limited resource clientele, agencies may well do feasibility studies to ascertain the functionality of including transportation for the relevant sector of the clientele.

8. *Client satisfaction surveys:* Whereas most recipients of agency services are in subordinate positions to register complaints, client satisfaction surveys should be encouraged as a part of the agency evaluation process.

Summary

The democratic principles which are the foundation of the governmental, political, social, and economic institutions in the United States should serve as the basis for establishing and implementing programs, policies, and procedures to enhance the welfare of all its constituency. In an era such as the present when the nonmetropolitan South is surging as a citadel of industrialization, high technology, and accompanying social change, it is logical to assume that the "pains of growth" and prosperity have impacted it. Nonetheless, southerners have a humanistic concern for their citizenry which has been part and parcel of their heritage.

The research depicted and analyzed in this study offers alternative approaches to resolving present day dimensions of problems affecting rural limited resource people in the rural South. The findings imply or suggest specific recommendations that can enable policymakers at the local, state, regional, and national levels to examine, modify, and enrich those programs in light of the research findings of this study. The internalization of the findings and the utilization of them may well enable Southerners to develop models for human resource development that will provide universal access to and availability of policy objectives concomitant with the democratic process.

REFERENCES

Billingsley, Andrew
1968 Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Encyclopedia of Social Work, Vol. II
1977 National Association of Social Workers, Inc. Albany, NY: Boyd Printing Co., 1262.

Hagen, Jan L.
1982 "Whatever happened to 43 Elizabeth I, c. 2?". Social Service Review 56 (March): 108-119.
Pinkney, Alphonso
1975 Black American. Englewood-Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Chapter 12

Selected Annotated Bibliography

Sharon L. Wade

Anderson, Ralph E., and Irl E. Carter
1978 Human Behavior in the Social Environment. Chicago: Aldin Publishing Company.

Anderson and Carter begin their publication with a discussion of the social systems approach, followed by a discussion of culture and society, communities and organizations, groups, families and the person. The authors utilize a systems approach in their discussion of each level of society.

Beeghley, Leonard
1983 Living Poorly in America. New York: Praeger.

The author describes what it is like to live in poverty in America. He attempts to correct some of the myths about those who are impoverished and to explain some of the correlates and causes of poverty.

Berrien, Kenneth F.
1968 General and Social Systems. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

In this publication, Berrien emphasizes the need for a general systems theory. Basic definitions and assumptions are presented. Questions with respect to the growth of systems theory are raised and discussed. The author concludes with a discussion of other biosocial systems and other models that have been used in quest for a better understanding of social phenomena.

Billingsley, Andrew
1968 Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

The book uses the structural-functionalist approach to achieve a better understanding of the black family in white America and counteracts the stereotyped matriarchal thesis that dominated the assumptions of the Chicago school of thought, including the work of black sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier.

Bishop, Y. M., Stephen E. Fienberg, and Paul W. Holland
1975 Discrete Multivariate Analysis: Theory and Practice. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

This is a commendable and comprehensive treatment of log-linear analysis; it deals mostly with the application of the technique on a number of examples from the social sciences.

Boskoff, Alvin
1969 Theory in American Sociology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

Boskoff emphasizes the theoretical rather than conceptual issues. Summaries of contributions from classical theorists are presented.

Brown, Peter G., Conrad Johnson, and Paul Vernier
1981 Income Support. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield.

This book contains eighteen chapters on a variety of moral and conceptual issues underlying existing income support systems. These include Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Social

Security Income, Food Stamps, Medicaid, Veterans' Pensions, Housing Assistance, and General Assistance Programs.

Buckley, Walter
1967 Sociology and Modern Systems Theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Buckley's intent in writing this book was to "investigate the principles and methods of modern systems research as a basis for a more adequate model or theoretical framework for analysis of the sociocultural system" (p. 2). In general, he argues that most of the existing models of society are inappropriate. According to Buckley, systems theory and research have much to offer sociology.

Deaton, Brady J.
1983 Education in a Changing Rural Environment. Mississippi State, MS: Southern Rural Development Center.

This study identifies research findings that address the effects of population and economic changes on the supply and demand for education in rural areas.

Dhillon, Jogindar S.
1976 Knowledge Level, Need, and Use of Selected Anti-Poverty Programs by the Rural Poor. Tallahassee: Center for Community Development & Research, Florida A&M University, pp.75.

The publication, which constitutes Volume III of a four volume series, is based on the findings of a comprehensive research study implemented in seven counties of north and northwest Florida. A total of 840 heads of households selected through multistage stratified random sampling design composed the study sample. The results are presented in six Chapters on the knowledge, need, and use of the following anti-poverty programs: Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Totally and Permanently Disabled, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Child Nutrition, and Old Age Assistance (some of these programs since then have been combined into Supplementary Security Income).

Dillman, Don A.
1978 Mail and Telephone Surveys. The Total Design Method. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

The author describes step-by-step details of how to conduct successful mail and telephone surveys using questionnaries of a length and complexityadequate for social science research. The approach to surveying expressed in this book is called the "total design method" (TDM).

Encyclopedia of Social Work, Vol. II
1977 National Association of Social Workers, Inc. Albany, NY: Boyd Printing Co.

This volume provides an excellent overview of the development of settlement houses. Included is the history of programs, policies, and procedures for caring for the poor, Social welfare curriculums and accreditation procedures are also examined. Government programs that affect social welfare agencies are presented and examined in chronological order.

Fitchen, Janet M.
1981 Poverty in Rural America: A Case Study. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

The author uses an anthropological case study approach to examine the extent of poverty among families in rural America. Vivid ethnographic descriptions of different aspects of family and community life are provided along with a consideration of the causes and cures for poverty.

Fleming, Arthur S.
1978 "Age discrimination still prevalent," Aging. Washington, D.C: Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. Report No. 78-20946.

The author discusses discrimination on the basis of age in federally supported services and benefits. His assertions are based on findings from data on the federal programs in the South.

Gross, Harry
1966 Make or Buy: Detailed Guidelines to Assist in Analyzing, Formulating and Concluding Make or Buy Decisions. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

The author discusses the economic justification for making or buying a product or component by the business enterprise, analyzes a survey on make or buy problems, and presents techniques for planning in make or buy decisions.

Hagen, Jan L.
1982 "Whatever happened to 43 Elizabeth I, c. 2?" Social Service Review 56 (March): 108-119.

In this article Jan Hagen provides a historical and theoretical critique of government's measures to deal with the poor and poverty.

Hill, Reubin
1949 Families Under Stress. New York: Harper and Brothers.

"What varieties of families thrive in the face of crisis and trouble? How are stable families produced which absorb the blows of social change without breaking under strain? What are the histories of families which combine integration around unique family values and loyalty to those values with adaptability in the face of crises and mobility?" These are the questions that are addressed in this study.

Howie, Marguerite R., and Kathleen Hanna
1976 "Effects of communication and transportation on utilization of aging services by rural poor people in South Carolina," Orangeburg, South Carolina: South Carolina State College. Research Bulletin, No. 5 (Jan.).

This bulletin presents a study of the utlization of five government agencies by a population of rural poor in three small towns in South Carolina. Overall, results showed dissatisfaction with the distribution of agency services.

Kish, Leslie
1965 Survey Sampling: New York: John Wiley.

In this definitive work on sampling in social research, Kish's coverage ranges from the simplest matter to the most complex and mathematical. Easily readable and difficult passages intermingle as Kish exhausts most of what one could want or need to know about sampling. The probability is proportionate to size (PPS) sampling procedures used in the RR-1 survey are taken directly from Kish.

Kramer, Nic J. T. A., and Jacob de Smit
1977 Systems Thinking: Concepts and Notions. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Social Science Division.

The primary goal of Kramer and Smith was to develop a common language of systems theory. After presenting a number of concepts and terms, the authors note the difference between an aggregate and a system. While a system consists of a set of interrelated entities which have meaning, an aggregate consists of entities wherein the relationships are meaningless. Relationships, boundaries and processes are discussed and illustrated with examples.

Lens, Sidney
1969 Poverty: Americans Enduring Paradox. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Tracing the growth and development of America focusing upon the concomitant emergence of poverty and wealth. Lens analyzes the ideological views of significant political, economic and religious leaders showing how their ideas fostered the laissez-faire approach of the federal government toward the poor from the administrations of George Washington to that of L. B. Johnson. He also discussed laissez-faire influences on the unethical practices of the business community.

Makielski, Jr., S. J.
1976 "American minorities." Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundmental Freedoms. The Hague. Volume III. Pub. for the Foundation for the Study of Plural Societies by Mastini Nijhoff.

In this document, attention is focused on discrimination and American minorities. Discussions are based on studies of inequalities in the distribution power due to race, status, lifestyle, education, housing, and other factors.

Matias, Judah
1984 Social Inequality, Stratification, and Mobility. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

The classified historical comparative sociological theories of inequality and stratification and the modern empirical investigations of mobility and status attainment are examined in this book. After outlining the institutions and process by which social rewards and resources are differentially distributed, the author discusses ways in which individuals attain social status, positions in the various social strata, and access to social rewards.

Mead, Lawrence M.
1982 Social programs and social obligations, Public Interest 69 (Fall): 17-32.

Based on the thesis that today Americans are on government programs because they claim benefits they have not directly earned, Mead claims that the welfare state and its problems are middle-class. Thus, the problems attendant to the lower classes are not resolved, and "the children of the poor become in turn the parents of the poor."

Miller, James Grier
1978 Living Systems. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Miller argues that physical and social phenomena are continuous. He describes many of the characteristics which describe and explain social phenomena. For instance, in his discussion of boundaries, he notes that the cell has a boundary which protects it from its environment and excludes or permits entry to various kinds of matter-energy information and that the same processes take place among social groups.

Morgan, James N.
1974 Five Thousand American Families Patterns of Economic Progress. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute of Social Research, The University of Michigan.

This is an excellent eight volume series that examines seven year panel data in order to test hypotheses on family income dynamics.

Attention is also given to the correlates, causes and strategies for eliminating poverty.

Morrill, Richard L., and Ernest H. Wohlenberg
1971 The Geography of Poverty in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill.

These authors outline the spatial dimensions of poverty in America and integrate them with social, economic and structural dimensions. Emphasis is placed on resources, transportation, growth models, rural poverty, spatial generalizations on urban systems, migration and solutions of the problems of poverty.

Parsons, Talcott
1951 The Social System. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.

The discussions in this book are based on the functionalist theory of social systems including the social roles of the family in society.

Pinkney, Alphonso
1975 Black Americans. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Black Americans is a publication in a series on various ethnic groups in American life. Alphonso Pinkney presents a profile of the black man in American culture from 1619 to the present. He applies socological concepts to measure the leverage of assimilation in American society based on social class distinctions and analyzes conflict as a social force caused by inequities in the social structure.

President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
1986 Rural Poverty in the United States. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

This report is organized in five parts: 1) rural people and their communities, 2) mobility and migration, 3) health and family planning, 4) agricultureand nature resources, and 5) economics of poverty. The problem of Southern rural poverty from the point of view of the metropolitan North is discussed by John F. Kain.

Robertson, Ian
1980 Social Problems. New York: Random House.

The author discusses several theoretical approaches useful in understanding social problems. Included are the theories of functionalism, the conflict approach, the interactionist theory and others.

Thomas, George
1972 Poverty in the Nonmetorpolitan South: A Casual Analysis. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath.

Starting with the premise that we do not know how much we know about poverty, Thomas notes the extent of poverty in the South and discusses a number of theoretical explanations. After assessing the value of these explanations, Thomas points out that the data on poverty are of little use in evaluating the various explanations and suggests the need to establish new objectives and programs that are more responsive to specific target localities.

Thompson, J. D.
1967 Organizations in Action. New York: McGraw-Hill.

In this publication systems theory is applied to the behavior of an organization. Thompson discusses the relationship between an organization and its environment and observes that the exchange between an organization and its environment is an imperative. This publication is an example of the relevance of systems theory in better understanding social phenomena.

Timasheff, Nicholas S., and George A. Theorderson
1976 Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth. New York: Random House.

This book presents a study of sociological theories wherein theoretical developments are placed into historical perspectives. The readings are valuable in understanding current theoretical issues.

Tussing, A. Dale
1975 Poverty in a Dual Economy. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Asserting that most of the causes of poverty lie in the social, political, and economic system, Tussing states that poverty encompasses more than a state of moneylessness but includes the broader notion of powerlessness. Poverty from this perspective means inequality. Tussing sets forth a model to explain the causes of poverty with the following four key elements: 1) class structure, 2) isolation, 3) individualism, and 4) prejudice.

Tweeten, Luther G.
1967 The Role of Education in Alleviating Rural Poverty. Washington, D.C.: USDA-ERS Report No. 114.

The purpose of this study was to provide a framework for more effective research and action programs oriented to problems of rural poverty. The role of education in raising income and living standards is discussed by integrating studies from a growing body of literature on this topic.

U. S. Bureau of Census
1970 1970 Census Users Guide. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

This text is a descriptive source to help the user interpret census publications. The 1970 Census Users' Guide is designed to serve data users as a principal resource for information about the 1970 Census of Population and Housing. The Users' Guide furnishes the information necessary to effectively deal with the terminology, tabulations, and other potential barriers to understanding and using the Census to the best advantage.

Webb, Eugene J., D. R. Campbell, R. D. Schwartz, and L. Sechrest
1966 Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally.

The essays in this monograph provide alternative methods by which ethical criteria can be met while exploring important interests of the research subject.

Wheelock, Gerald, et al.
1983 Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Low-Income Areas of the Rural South: A Basebook. Normal, Alabama: Alabama A. & M. University, 1890 Land-Grant Regional Publication No. 1.

This is an extensive treatise of descriptive data with emphasis on poverty in ten contiguous southern states (SC, NC, AL, MS, AR, GA, FL, VA, TN, and KY). The authors describe in detailed format five major phenomena (demographic characteristics, community and life satisfaciton, agency utilization and client satisfaction, values, attitudes and beliefs and consumer behavior) which focus on individuals above and below the poverty levels.

White, Carolyn, Lititia Hatcher, and Albertine Banks
1981 "The Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South Training Manual. Atlanta, GA: RR-I Training of Trainers Workshop.

The purpose of this manual is to serve as a training guide and resource for researchers in rural settings. Specifically, it was designed to meet the needs of interviewers in the regional research project, RR-I, "The Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South."

Appendices

A. List of Contributors

B-1. Survey Questionnaire

B-2. Agency Directors' Questionnaire

C. Op-Scan Coding Sheets

D. Participating Institutions and Principal Investigators

APPENDIX A

CONTRIBUTORS

Bekele, Gete

Gete Bekele is Research Assistant in the Department of Agribusiness at Alabama A&M University.

Bekele received her B. Sc. in Social Work from Addis Ababa University, and received post graduate diploma in Rural Policy and Project Planning from the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague, Netherlands. She received her M. S. in Agribusiness Management from Alabama A&M University, where she participated in this Regional Research Project.

Cho, Woong K.

Woong K. Cho is principal investigator of the regional research project at Alcorn State University and has published various articles on rural poverty and rural labor forces. His current research interests include the study of labor markets and labor force differentiation in nonmetropolitan areas.

Cho received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Dhillon, Jogindar S.

Jogindar S. Dhillon is Professor of Sociology and Directer, Center for Community Development and Research at Florida A&M University. He has extensive experience in rural development both in India as well as in the United States. His research interests are in rural poverty, community development, and social development. He is the author of over 40 research reports, bulletins, and technical papers.

Dhillon received his Masters degrees from the University of Rajasthan & Punjab Agricultural University, and his Ph.D. degree from Cornell University.

Godfrey, Lina R.

Lina R. Godfrey is Research Professor in the Department of Home Economics at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff. Her professional interests are in rural sociology, adult education, nutrition and textiles. She has presented numerous papers at state and national conferences and has contributed to the literature of sociological and educational development. She has held teaching position in Jamaica and at Hampton Institute.

Godfrey received her Ph.D. degree at Michigan State University.

Howie, Marguerite Rogers

Marguerite Rogers Howie is Professor of Sociology and holds an Endowed Chair as a Distinguished Professor in the School of Arts and Sciences at South Carolina State College. She has received grants from CSRS/USDA, the Russell Sage and the Kellogg Foundations.

Howie received her M.A. degree in Sociology from Atlanta University and has published several articles, monographs, and journals. She is the recent recipient of the W. E. B. Dubois award from the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists.

Jones, Levi

Levi Jones is Professor of Sociology and Director of Institute for African Affairs at Tennessee State University. His specialization is in complex organizations, social problems, and problems of developing countries. He is the author of several papers on various aspects of quality of life.

Jones obtained his Doctorate degree from Vanderbilt University. He is the recent past president of the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists.

Kanthi, Chinna S.

Chinna S. Kanthi is a Research Associate at Kentucky State University where she is working toward a degree in Computer Science.

Kanthi received her B. S. degree from Bangalore University, India and her Masters degree in Public Affairs from Kentucky State University.

Oldham, Hettie B.

Hettie B. Oldham is a Research Associate in Rural Development at Kentucky State University where she has taught in the areas of social work and sociology.

Oldham received her Masters degree in Social Work from the Kent School of Social Work at the University of Louisville.

Patel, Dinker I.

Dinker I. Patel is an Associate Professor of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Kentucky State University. He has presented and published studies on a variety of topics including urbanization, migration and poverty. His current research interests are in minority group studies and developmental change.

Patel has studied at Kenyatta University, Eastern Oregon College and has a Ph. D. from the University of Kentucky.

Phillips, Robert L., Jr.

Robert L. Phillips, Jr. is Associate Researcher for Measurements and Design for rural research project in the 1890 Research Program at South Carolina State College. He has co-authored several professional papers and journal articles.

Phillips received his B.S. degree from the University of Southern Mississippi and his M.A. degree in Rehabilitative Counseling from South Carolina State College.

Randolph Sheron L.

Sheron L. Randolph is Principal Investigator of the Rural Tennessee Research Project at Tennessee State University. She has published and presented research papers pertaining to the quality of life in the rural sector.

Randolph received her Ph.D. degree in Rural Sociology from Ohio State University.

Thompson, Alton

Alton Thompson is an Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology at North Carolina A&T State University and is Principal Investigator for several agricultural research projects. He is Chairman of the Rural Poverty Research Group of the Rural Sociology Society and has published on the quality of rural life and research methods.

Thompson received his Ph.D. degree from Ohio State University.

Wade, Sharon L.

Sharon L. Wade is an Associate Researcher with the 1890 Research Programat South Carolina State College. She is involved in rural development researchand has co-authored several scientific papers in the area of rural sociology.

Wade received her B.A. degree from Benedict College and her Master of Social Work degree from the University of Georgia.

Webber, Avery

Avery Webber is Associate Professor of Sociology at Tuskegee Institute where he serves as Chair of the Department of Sociology. His primary interest is in the sociological aspects of poverty and rural development. He has published papers on mental health and rural development.

Webber received his Ph.D. degree from Florida State University.

Wheelock, Gerald C.

Gerald C. Wheelock is Professor of Rural Sociology in the Department of Agribusiness Education at Alabama A&M University. His research has focused on the role of government programs in rural community development and rural family welfare both domestically and internationally.

Wheelock received his Ph.D. degree in Development Sociology from Cornell University.

APPENDIX B-1

RR-1 Regional Instrument
Survey of Families Involved in "The Isolation of Factors Related to levels and Patterns of Living in Selected Areas of the Rural South"

	CARD 01/
State:______________________________(FIPS CODE___ ___)	1-2
County:______________________________(FIPS CODE___ ___ ___)	3-5
Cluster Number: ___ ___	6-7
Interview Number:___ ___	8-9
Interviewer Number:___ ___ ___	10-12
(RECORD) Time Interview Started __________ a.m. p.m. (Circle a.m. or p.m.)	13-17
(RECORD) Time Interview Ended __________ a.m. p.m. (Circle a.m. or p.m.)	18-22
(RECORD DO NOT ASK) Sex of Head of the Household: Male 1, Female 2	23
(RECORD DO NOT ASK) Race of Head of the Household: Black 1, White 2, Other 3	24
Contact Number: 1 2 3 4	25

(CIRCLE EACH CONTACT, AS MADE: AFTER 2 CONTACTS, NOTIFY FIELD SUPERVISOR)

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. **Please tell me all of the persons who live in this house year-round, not by name but by their relationship to you (e.g.,son daughter, father, sister, half-sister, brother, etc?)** (CIRCLE **APPROPRIATE SEX CODE FOR EACH ENTRY)**

		Male	Female			Male	Female
1.	____________	1	2	9.	____________	1	2
2.	____________	1	2	10.	____________	1	2
3.	____________	1	2	11.	____________	1	2
4.	____________	1	2	12.	____________	1	2
5.	____________	1	2	13.	____________	1	2
6.	____________	1	2	14.	____________	1	2
7.	____________	1	2	15.	____________	1	2
8.	____________	1	2	16.	____________	1	2

26 - 57

2. What is your current age? (IN YEARS)?________________ 58 - 59

3. What is the highest grade you completed in school?
(RECORD NUMBER)______________ 60 - 61

4. Your current marital status. (CIRCLE ONE)

Married 1
Divorced. 2
Separated 3
Widowed. 4
Never Married. . . .5

62

5a. What is your occupation (IF RETIRED OR UNEMPLOYED ASK,"WHAT WAS YOUR USUAL OCCUPATION BEFORE YOUR RETIREMENT OR LAYOFF?") (CIRCLE ONE)

Professional, technical and kindred worker	01	
Manager or administrator (EXCEPT FARM)	02	
Sales worker	03	
Clerical or kindred worker	04	
Craftsman or forman	05	
Operative involved in manufacturing	06	
Transport equipment operative	07	
Laborer (EXCEPT FARM)	08	
Farmer or farm manager	09	
Farm laborer or farm foreman	10	
Service worker (EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD)	11	
Private household worker	12	63 -

INTERVIEWER:
5b. IF CATEGORY 09 or 10 CIRCLED IN 5a RECORD 1 IN THE FOLLOWING SPACE. OTHERWISE RECORD 2____________ 65

6a. How many persons in this household depend on your income as their sole means of support? (RECORD NUMBER)________ 66 - 6

(REFER TO QUESTION 5b, IF '1' IS RECORDED USE INCOME COLUMN A, OTHERWISE USE INCOME COLUMN B)

Family Size (from Q. 6a)	INCOME A (Farm)	INCOME B (Non-farm)
1	3250	3790
2	4380	5010
3	5310	6230
4	6340	7450
5	7370	8670
6	8400	9870
OVER 6 MEMBERS ADD:	$1030 per person	$1220 per person

6b. LOOKING DOWN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN, FIND FAMILY SIZE. READ THIS FIGURE TO THE RESPONDENT IN THE FOLLOWING WAY: "Did you earn more than (Figure) during 1980?")

Yes. . .1
No . . .2

(RECORD FIGURE YOU USED__________) 68

(NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FATHER AND GRANDFATHER).

7. What is your father's age?(IN YEARS)
_______________(IF DECEASED CODE 00) 69 - 70

8. What is (was) your father's marital status? (CIRCLE ONE)

Married.........	1
Divorced........	2
Separated.......	3
Widowed.........	4
Never Married...	5

71

9. What was the highest grade he completed in school?
(RECORD NUMBER) _______________ 72 - 73

10. How many children did your father have?
(RECORD NUMBER) _______________ 74 - 75

END CARD 01

11. What is (was) your father's occupation? (IF RETIRED OR UNEMPLOYMENT ASK,"WHAT WAS HIS USUSAL OCCUPATION BEFORE HIS RETIREMENT OR LAYOFF") (CIRCLE ONE)

CARD 02/

Professional, technical and kindred worker..........	01
Manager or administrator (Except Farm)..............	02
Sales Worker..	03
Clerical or kindred worker..........................	04
Craftsman or foreman................................	05
Operative involved in manufacturing.................	06
Transport equipment operative.......................	07
Laborer (EXCEPT FARM)...............................	08
Farmer or farm manager..............................	09
Farm laborer or farm foreman........................	10
Service worker (EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD)...........	11
Private household worker............................	12

13 - 14

12a. In what year did you leave home?_______________ 15 - 19

12b. During that year what is your best estimate of your father's income? (RECORD IN DOLLARS)_______________ 20 - 24

13. What is your grandfather's age?(IN YEARS)
_______________(IF DECEASED CODE 00) 25 - 26

14. What is (was) your grandfather's marital status?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Married.........1
Divorced........2
Separated.......3
Widowed.........4
Never Married...5 27

15. What was the highest grade he completed in school?
(RECORD NUMBER)________________ 28 - 29

16. How many children did your grandfather have?
(RECORD NUMBER) ________________ 30 - 31

17. What is (was) your grandfather's occupation?(IF RETIRED OR UNEMPLOYED ASK,"WHAT WAS HIS USUAL OCCUPATION BEFORE HIS RETIREMENT OR LAYOFF")
(CIRCLE ONE)

Professional, technical and kindred worker.......... 01
Manager or administrator.(Except.Farm).............. 02
Sales Worker.. 03
Clerical or kindred worker.......................... 04
Craftsman or foreman................................ 05
Operative involved in manufacturing................. 06
Transport equipment operative....................... 07
Laborer (EXCEPT FARM)............................... 08
Farmer or farm manager.............................. 09
Farm laborer or farm foreman........................ 10
Service worker (EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD)........... 11
Private household worker............................ 12 32 - 33

18a. In what year did your father leave home? ______________ 34 - 37

18b. During that year what is your best estimate of your grandfathers's income?
(RECORD IN DOLLARS) ______________________ 38 - 42

(HAND THE RESPONDENT THE ENCLOSED DIAGRAM OF A LADDER)

HERE IS A PICTURE OF A LADDER. AT THE BOTTOM OF THE LADDER IS THE WORST LIFE YOU MIGHT REASONABLY EXPECT TO HAVE. AT THE TOP IS THE BEST LIFE YOU MIGHT EXPECT TO HAVE. OF COURSE, LIFE FROM WEEK TO WEEK FALLS SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN.

19a. Where on the ladder was your best week in the past year-- on which rung would you put it? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 43

19b. Where on the ladder was your worst week during the past year-- on which rung? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 44

19c. Where on the ladder were you most of the time during the past year? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 45

19d. Where on the ladder were you five years ago? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 46

19e. Where on this ladder do you expect to be five years from now? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 47

19f. Where on this ladder did your father stand when you were a child? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 48

19g. Where on this ladder did your grandfather stand? (CIRCLE ONE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 — 49

20. How many children do you have?
(If none, enter 0 and skip to Q. 23, page 6) ______________ — 50 - 51

21.. I would like to ask you some questions about the children you have living at home. (IF NO CHILDREN ARE LIVING AT HOME, SKIP TO Q. 22. IF THERE ARE NO CHILDREN, SKIP TO Q. 23). WHERE CODES PROVIDED CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

A. First Names from youngest to oldest children who are not living in your household (DO NOT CODE)	B. Age In Years	C. Sex		D. Marital Status				E. Education Highest Grade Completed	F. Occupation	G. Income (per year in dollars)	
		M	F	M	S	W	D/S				
		1	2	1	2	3	4				52-64
		1	2	1	2	3	4				65-77 END 0 CARD
		1	2	1	2	3	4				13-25
		1	2	1	2	3	4				26-38
		1	2	1	2	3	4				39-51
		1	2	1	2	3	4				52-64
		1	2	1	2	3	4				65-77 END 0 CARD
		1	2	1	2	3	4				13-25
		1	2	1	2	3	4				26-38

22. Now I'd like you to tell me something about those of your children who are no longer living at home. (IF THERE ARE NO CHILDREN, SKIP TO Q. 23 WHERE CODES PROVIDED CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

A. First Names from youngest to oldest children who are not living in your household (DO NOT CODE)	B. AGE (in years)	C. SEX M	F	D. MARITAL STATUS M S W	D/S	E. OCCUPATION e.	F. INCOME (in dollars) f.	G. EDUCATION Highest Grade Completed	H. City & State where (Name) currently resides (Use FIPS State and County Codes)	
		1	2	1 2 3	4					39-56
		1	2	1 2 3	4					57-74 END 04/ CARD 05/
		1	2	1 2 3	4					13-30
		1	2	1 2 3	4					31-48
		1	2	1 2 3	4					49-66 END 05/ CARD 06/
		1	2	1 2 3	4					13-30
		1	2	1 2 3	4					31-48
		1	2	1 2 3	4					49-66 END 06/ CARD 07
		1	2	1 2 3	4					13-30

211

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SECTION II: COMMUNITY AND LIFE SATISFACTION

SCRIPT: Think of each of the statements that I am going to read to you as relating to the people of the entire community both in town and on neighboring farms. If you think the statement fits this community very well, respond Strongly Agree; if it applies only partially, answer Agree; if you cannot see how it relates in one way or another to this particular community, answer Undecided; if you think it is not true respond Disagree; and if it definitely is not true, answer Strongly Disagree.

(CIRCLE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION)

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
23.	Real friends are hard to find in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	31
24.	Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life.	1	2	3	4	5	32
25.	This community is very orderly and peaceful.	1	2	3	4	5	33
26.	A lot of the people here think they are too nice for you.	1	2	3	4	5	34
27.	The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has made life better for people in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	35
28.	Families in this community keep their children under control.	1	2	3	4	5	36
29.	Different churches here cooperate well with one another.	1	2	3	4	5	37
30.	The main problem in this community is crime.	1	2	3	4	5	38

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
31.	Some people can get by with almost anything while others take the rap for any little misdeed.	1	2	3	4	5	39
32.	Our schools do a good job in preparing students for college.	1	2	3	4	5	40
33.	Most people try to use you.	1	2	3	4	5	41
34.	Blacks and whites get along well in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	42
35.	Most people here show good judgement.	1	2	3	4	5	43
36.	It is dangerous to walk down the streets in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	44
37.	This community lacks real leaders.	1	2	3	4	5	45
38.	People here give you a bad name if you insist on being different.	1	2	3	4	5	46
39.	Our high school graduates take an active interest in making this community a better place in which to live.	1	2	3	4	5	47
40.	A few people here make all the money.	1	2	3	4	5	48

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
41. The churches here are a constructive factor for better community life.	1	2	3	4	5	49
42. I feel very much that I belong here.	1	2	3	4	5	50
43. You must spend lots of money to be accepted in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	51
44. Most people get their families to Sunday School or church on Sunday.	1	2	3	4	5	52
45. I feel welcome going to public activities in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	53
46. No one seems to care how this community looks.	1	2	3	4	5	54
47. I am often afraid that criminals will break into my home.	1	2	3	4	5	55

48. What are the three things which make life most satisfying for you? (DO NOT READ LIST)

a. ______ 56 - 57

b. ______ 58 - 59

c. ______ 60 - 61

01 Family/children
02 Good health and nutrition
03 Money/able to pay bills
04 Having a job
05 Decent home/shelter
06 Good Community
07 Church
08 Helping others/love/friends
09 Education
10 Other: ______________________
99 No answer

49. What are the three things which make life most unsatisfying for you? (DO NOT READ LIST).

a. ______ 62 - 63

b. ______ 64 - 65

c. ______ 66 - 67

01 Lack of money/low wages/bills/inflation
02 Lack of job
03 Crime
04 Poor health
05 Community deterioration
06 Lack of adequate housing
07 Lack of education
08 Hard to make friends
09 Family problems
10 Other: ______________________
99 No answer

50. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you are spending your life? Would you call it: (READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE).

Completely satisfying.........1 68
Somewhat satisfying...........2
Unsure........................3
Not too satisfying............4
Very unsatisfying.............5 END CARD 07

SECTION III: AVAILABILITY, ACCESSIBILITY, CLIENT SATISFACTION AND UTILIZATION

	1 Have you ever used ____?	2 Have you used ____ within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ____ now?	4 Why service not used in past year?	5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ____?	7 How often do you use these services?
51. EMPLOYMENT SECURITY	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q.#4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans./Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it... 06 D/K it was available...07 Other........ 08 N/A 99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper. 02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly .... 02 Monthly.............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A.................99
52. WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it...06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A............99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______.....07 N/A.......99	Daily ....01 Weekly..............02 Monthly.............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............06 N/A.................99
53. COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT TRAINING ACT	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO. ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A............99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ ..07 N/A.......99	Daily...............01 Weekly..............02 Monthly.............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............ 06 N/A.................99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8	9	10	11	12	13	
How far away is ______ in miles?	How do you get to the ______?	How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to ______?	When you use the services of the ______, how would you rate services received?	Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ______ office?	How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 08/
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.....04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex........02 Yes, age........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles..04 11-15miles..05 16-20miles..06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other ____..08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56
Less than a mile ....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles..07 N/A.......99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans......07 Other_____.08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic...01 Yes, sex......02 Yes, age......03 No, none noticed..04 N/A.......05 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		57-78 End Carc 0E

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	1 Have you ever used ______?	2 Have you used ______, within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ______ now?	4 Why service not used in past year?	5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ______?	7 How often do you use these services?
54. UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q.#4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans./Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it.. 06 D/K it was available....07 Other......... 08 N/A 99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly .... 02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99
55. FOOD STAMPS	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it...06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______.....07 N/A.......99	Daily .... 01 Weekly.............. 02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99
56. FARMER'S HOME ADMINISTRATION	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO, ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN: #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ ..07 N/A.......99	Daily............... 01 Weekly.............. 02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8 How far away is ________ in miles?	9 How do you get to the ________?	10 How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to ________?	11 When you use the services of the ________, how would you rate services received?	12 Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ________ office?	13 How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 09/
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A.........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans......05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+.........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex........02 Yes, age........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A..........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles..04 11-15miles..05 16-20miles..06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A.........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other _____..08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+.........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56
Less than a mile ....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles..07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans......07 Other_____.08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1......02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+.........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A..........99	Yes, race ethnic...01 Yes, sex......02 Yes, age......03 No, none noticed..04 N/A.........05 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		57-78 End Card 09

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	1 Have you ever used ______?	2 Have you used ______, within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ______ now?	4 Why service not used in past year?	5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ______?	7 How often do you use these services?
57. LAND BANK	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q. #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high.........01 Too old.......02 Trans./Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it.. 06 D/K it was available....07 Other......... 08 N/A 99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly .... -02 Monthly.............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months- 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99
58. PRODUCTION CREDIT	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high.........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Se.. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______.....07 N/A.......99	Daily .... 01 Weekly............... 02 Monthly.............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months.-04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99
59. 235 HOUSING	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO. ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN: #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high.........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ ..07 N/A.......99	Daily............... 01 Weekly.............. 02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................. 99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8 How far away is ________ in miles?	9 How do you get to the ______?	10 How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to ________?	11 When you use the services of the ____________, how would you rate services received?	12 Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ________ office?	13 How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 10/
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A.........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.....04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ________..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex.........02 Yes, age.........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles..04 11-15miles..05 16-20miles..06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other ____..08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other________ __________.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56
Less than a mile ....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles..07 N/A.......99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.....04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans......07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other________ __________.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic...01 Yes, sex......02 Yes, age......03 No, none noticed..04 N/A.......05 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		57-78 End Card 10.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	1 Have you ever used ______?	2 Have you used ______, within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ______ now?	4 Why service not used in past year? 5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ______?	7 How often do you use these services?
60. SOCIAL SECURITY	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q.#4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is...... 05 D/K where to go for it... 06 D/K it was available....07 Other......... 08 N/A 99	Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly ....02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............06 N/A.................99
61. MEDICARE	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it...06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99	Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______.....07 N/A.......99	Daily ....01 Weekly..............02 Monthly.............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............06 N/A.................99
62. MEDICAID	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO. ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99	Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ ..07 N/A.......99	Daily...............01 Weekly..............02 Monthly.............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............06 N/A.................99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8	9	10	11	12	13	
How far away is ______ in miles?	How do you get to the ______?	How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to ______?	When you use the services of the ______, how would you rate services received?	Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ______ office?	How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 11/
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.....04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ____________..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex........02 Yes, age........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No ade- quate trans.....07 Other ____..08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other_______ ____________.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56
Less than a mile ....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles..07 N/A.......99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans......07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other_______ ____________.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....0 Good, did not solve problem....0 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.0 N/A.........9	Yes, race ethnic...01 Yes, sex......02 Yes, age......03 No, none noticed..04 N/A.......05 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		57-78 End Card 11.

223

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	1 Have you ever used ____?	2 Have you used ____ within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ____ now?	4 Why service not used in past year?	5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ____?	7 How often do you use these services?
63. COMMISSION ON AGING	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q.#4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it.. 06 D/K it was available...07 Other......... 08 N/A 99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other____ ____ ____ ____ ____ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly ....02 Monthly.............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually.............06 N/A..................99
64. HEALTH SERVICE MEDICAL	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it...06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other____ ____ ____ ____.....07 N/A.......99	Daily ....01 Weekly...............02 Monthly..............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............06 N/A.................99
65. DENTAL CARE	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO, ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN: #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high..........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99		Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other____ ____ ____ ____ ..07 N/A.......99	Daily................01 Weekly...............02 Monthly..............03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months.......05 Annually............ 06 N/A.................99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8 How far away is ______ in miles?	9 How do you get to the ______?	10 How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to ______?	11 When you use the services of the ______, how would you rate services received?	12 Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ______ office?	13 How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 12/
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex........02 Yes, age........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles..04 11-15miles..05 16-20miles..06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A.........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other ____..08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56
Less than a mile ....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles..07 N/A.......99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans......07 Other_____.08	No set price donat........01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ______.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic...01 Yes, sex......02 Yes, age......03 No, none noticed..04 N/A.......05 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		57-78 End Card 12/

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	1 Have you ever used ______?	2 Have you used ______, within past yr.?	3 Are you presently using ______ now?	4 Why service not used in past year? 5 Why service never used?	6 How did you hear about services of ______?	7 How often do you use these services?
66. MENTAL HEALTH	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO. #2, GO TO Q.#4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high.........01 Too old.......02 Trans./Prob.. 03 Not needed... 04 D/K what service is.....05 D/K where to go for it.. 06 D/K it was available...07 Other........ 08 N/A 99	Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______ -07 N/A -99	Daily .... 01 Weekly ....-02 Monthly............. 03 Every 2 or 3 months. 04 Every 6 months...... 05 Annually............ 06 N/A................99
67. VETERANS ADMINISTRATION	Yes-01 No -02 IF NO ASK Q. #5, THEN GO TO NEXT AGENCY.	Yes-01 No -02 IF YES, IN #1 AND NO IN #2, GO TO #4.	Yes-01 No -02	Ineligible: Income too high.........01 Too old.......02 Trans. Prob...03 Not needed....04 D/K what service is......05 D/K where to go for it....06 D/K it was available....07 Other.........08 N/A...........99	Radio/TV..01 Newspaper.02 Booklet...03 Friend or Relative.04 Social Ser. Agency...05 Referral..06 Other______ ______ ______ ______ ______.....07 N/A.......99	Daily ....01 Weekly..............02 Monthly.............03 Every 2 or 3 months.04 Every 6 months......05 Annually............06 N/A................99

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8 How far away is ________ in miles?	9 How do you get to the ______?	10 How much do you pay for transportation for each trip to __________?	11 When you use the services of the ____________, how would you rate services received?	12 Did you notice any racial, sexual, age discrimination at ________ office?	13 How did this discrimination affect the services you asked for? EXPLAIN	Card 13
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles.04 11-15miles.05 16-20miles.06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans.....04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other_____.08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other______ ____________..08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic.....01 Yes, sex........02 Yes, age........03 No, none noticed....04 N/A.........99 IF YES, ASK Q. #13.		13-34
Less than a mile.....01 1-3 miles..02 4-6 miles..03 7-10 miles..04 11-15miles..05 16-20miles..06 More than 20 miles...07 N/A........99	Own car/ truck.....01 Friend/ Relative..02 Carpool....03 Agency Trans......04 Other SS Agency trans.....05 Public.....06 No adequate trans.....07 Other ____..08	No set price donat.......01 <than $1.....02 $1-$2.99....03 $3-$4.99....04 $5-$9.99....05 $10+........06 Payment other than money..07 Other_______ ____________.08	Very good...01 Good, solved problem....02 Good, did not solve problem....03 Fair, no follow-up..04 Poor, Agency inadequate.05 N/A.........99	Yes, race ethnic....01 Yes, sex.......02 Yes, age.......03 No, none noticed...04 N/A........99 IF YES, ASK Q. # 13.		35-56

GO TO THE NEXT PAGE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SECTION IV: VALUES, ATTITUDES, AND BELIEFS

SCRIPT: I am going to ask you a number of questions that deal with you and your feelings about yourself and your family. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions so be as honest as you can in each response. After I read each statement tell me whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, are Uncertain about, Disagree with or Strongly Disagree with it.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
68.	I am able to do things as well as other people.	1	2	3	4	5	57
69.	The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.	1	2	3	4	5	58
70.	It is important to make plans for one's life and not just except what comes.	1	2	3	4	5	59
71.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	60
72.	I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5	61
73.	Making plans only brings unhappiness because the plans are hard to fulfill.	1	2	3	4	5	62
74.	With things as they are today a person ought to think only about the present and not worry about what is going to happen tommorrow.	1	2	3	4	5	63

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
75.	When you are in trouble only a relative can be depended upon to help you out.	1	2	3	4	5	64

76. Being realistic, how much schooling do you think most of your children will complete? (CIRCLE ONE)

Not finish high school 1

High school diploma 2

Some college training 3

College degree 4

Graduate or professional school......5

No children or children have
already completed school............9 65

77. Did (or would) you advise your children to leave this community in order to be successful? (CIRCLE ONE)

Yes, to a great extent 1

Yes, somewhat 2

Uncertain 3

No, not very much 4

No, definitely not 5

No children 9 66

78. There are enough jobs for the young people in this community. (CIRCLE ONE)

Yes, to a great extent 1

Yes, somewhat 2

Uncertain 3

No, not very much 4

No, definitely not 5
No response 9 67

SCRIPT: Now I'm going to read some statements to you about work. Please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, are Uncertain about, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
79. Work is proof of an individual's worth to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	68
80. A person should do all in his power to earn a living.	1	2	3	4	5	69
81. If I had enough money to support myself and my family, I would never work.	1	2	3	4	5	70
82. When looking for a job a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents, even if it means losing a good opportunity elsewhere.	1	2	3	4	5	71
83. Work is something I do in order to earn some money.	1	2	3	4	5	72
84. If you have the chance to hire an assistant in your work, it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger.	1	2	3	4	5	73
85. A responsible individual is one who keeps his job.	1	2	3	4	5	74

END CARD

6. Would you or your spouce be interested in training for a new or better job? CARD 14/
(CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR HEAD AND ONE FOR SPOUSE)

a) Head		b) Spouse		
Yes. 1		Yes 1		(H): 13
No 2	(Go to Q. 89 page 28)	No. 2	(Go to Q. 89 page 28)	(S): 14
Don't Know . 8		No Spouse . . 3		
		Don't Know. . 8		

87. What kind of jobs would you like to be trained for? (Please be as specific as possible)

(INTERVIEWER, CODE THE FIRST JOB MENTIONED FOR BOTH HEAD AND SPOUSE USING CATEGORIES PROVIDED ON PAGE 2).

(Head) (Spouse) (H): 15-1

(S): 17-1

______________________ ______________________

______________________ ______________________

______________________ ______________________

88. Would you be willing to take special courses or technical training to prepare for the new or better job?

(READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH PART I.E., BOTH HEAD AND SPOUSE)

	Yes	No	Maybe	No Spouse	DK	
a) if a small fee is charged:						
1) Head:	1	2	3		8	(H): 19
2) Spouse:	1	2	3	7	8	(S): 20
b) if training is free:						
1) Head:	1	2	3		8	(H): 21
2) Spouse:	1	2	3	7	8	(S): 22
c) if you were paid to take the training:						
1) Head:	1	2	3		8	(H): 23
2) Spouse:	1	2	3	7	8	(S): 24

(ASK 88- D ONLY IF '1' or '3' IS RECORDED FOR 88 -C FOR HEAD OR SPOUSE)

d) How much would you have to be paid per hour?

1) Head: $__________ (H): 25-2

2) Spouse: $__________ No spouse:. . .9999 (S): 29-3

89. If employment for which you qualify is not available in your immediate area, how far would you be willing to travel from you home to the job (i.e., one way mileage) daily?

(CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH PART)

Head (H): 33

less than 10 miles. 1
10 to 14 miles. 2
15 to 19 miles. 3
20 to 24 miles. 4
25 to 29 miles. 5
30 to 39 miles. 6
40 to 49 miles. 7
50 miles or more. . . .8
Don't know. 9

Spouse (S): 34

less than 10 miles. 1
10 to 14 miles. 2
15 to 19 miles. 3
20 to 24 miles. 4
25 to 29 miles. 5
30 t0 39 miles. 6
40 to 49 miles. 7
50 miles or more. . . .8
Don't know/No spouse . .9

90. If you have children living in your household, how would these children be cared for if you are employed? 35

leave with grandparents. . . . 1
leave with other relatives . . 2
leave at day-care center . . . 3
leave with neighbors. 4
employ babysitter. . . .5
leave with spouse. . . .6
other (SPECIFY):
________________________.7
Does not apply. 8

91. Should the government or private business be responsible for providing jobs for people? 36

Yes, both the government and private business should. 1
Only the government should 2
Only private business should 3
I am unsure. 4
Neither government nor private Business should. 5

92. I am going to read some statements to you about problems in securing employment. After each statement, please tell me whether you think this represents a serious problem, is somewhat a problem or is not a problem in securing employment in your community.
(CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CATEGORY FOR EACH STATEMENT)

	Serious Problem	Somewhat a Problem	Not a Problem	
a. Discrimination by age	1	2	3	37
b. Discrimination by race	1	2	3	38
c. Discrimination by sex	1	2	3	39
d. Limited job opportunities	1	2	3	40
e. Lack of transportation	1	2	3	41
f. Not enough training or	1	2	3	42
education to get a good job	1	2	3	43
g. Knowing where to look for a job	1	2	3	44
h. Knowing the right people	1	2	3	45

93. Which statement best describes your present situation? (READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE)

Not able to work at all. .1
Able to work but limited in amount of work or kind of work I can do. 2
Able to work but limited in kind or amount of other activities I can do 3 46

94. Do you or does your family have health or hospitalization insurance (including medicare and medicaid).

No . . . . .1 (Skip to Q.96 pg. 30)
Yes. 2 47

95. Has your health/hospital insurance been adequate for your medical needs?

No 1
Yes. 2 48

Section V: CONSUMER BEHAVIOR AND PERSONAL INCOME

I am going to ask you a few questions about yourself as a consumer in our society. Once again, there are no right or wrong answers, so be as thoughtful and honest as you can in responding to each question.

96. Do you grow any vegetables at home?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 49

97. Do you raise any animals for meat?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 50

98. Do you keep a cow/goat for milk?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 51

99. Do you raise chickens for eggs?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 52

100. How do you usually pay for your groceries?
(READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE)

Credit & Cash 1
Cash. 2
Foodstamps & Cash . . . 3
Foodstamps, credit and cash. 4
Never buy groceries, I raise all my own food. 5
Barter. 6 53

101. If you have ever bought groceries on credit, from whom did you get the credit? (READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE)

Grocer. 1
Neighbor. 2
Relative. 3
Boss 4
Other(specify)_______. 5 54

102. Do you look for sales before you buy your groceries? (CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 55

103. Do you buy most of your groceries from your local grocery store? (CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 56

104. Do you think your local grocer gives you a fair price on what you buy? (CIRCLE ONE)

Always. 1
Sometimes 2
Never 3 57

105. Which of the following statements best describes your present stituation.

(READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE)

Do you own your HOME/APARTMENT/TRAILER. . . . 1
Are you buying your HOME/APARTMENT/TRAILER. . 2
Do you rent your HOME/APARTMENT/TRAILER . . . 3
Do you live in your HOME/APARTMENT/TRAILER rent free. 4 58

106. How much land does this HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER sit on?

(CIRCLE ONE)

under 1 acre. . .1
1-5 acres. . . . 2
6-10 acres . . . 3
11-15. 4
16-20 acres. 5
21-25 acres. 6
26 or more acres . .7
Don't Know 8 59

107. How much do you think this HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER and land would sell for if you sold it today? If you're not sure just take a guess.

(CIRCLE ONE)

under 5000. . . .1
5000- 14,999. . .2
15,000-24,999 . .3
25,000-34,999 . .4
35,000-49,999 . .5
50,000-64,999. . . .6
65,000-99,999. . . .7
100,000 or more. . .8
Don't Know. 9 60

108. How many rooms are there in this HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER not counting bathrooms, halls or porches?

(CIRCLE ONE)

One. 1
Two. 2
Three. 3
Four. 4
Five. 5
Six or more 6 61

109. Do you think the structure of this HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER: (READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE)

Needs minor repairs. . .1
Needs major repairs. . .2
Needs no repairs. . . . 3 (Skip to Q. 111 pg. 33)
Don't Know. 8 62

110. What, if anything, keeps these repairs from getting done?

(CIRCLE ONE)

Can't afford it. 1
Phyical Problems, can't do the job, etc. 2
No way to transport materials. 3
Don't know how to do the type of repair . . 4
Landlord/Manager won't repair. 5
Other (SPECIFY) ____________________ 6 63

236

111. Are there any ways in which this is not a good HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER to live in?
(CIRCLE ONE)

Yes. 1
No . . . . 2 } (Skip to Q. 113)
Don't know . . . . . . 3 } 64

112. What are the ways in which this is not a good HOUSE/APARTMENT/TRAILER to live in? (READ LIST. CIRCLE ONE)

Problems with landlord. 01
Housing too expensive 02
Needs repairs. 03
House/yard too much to care for. 04
Needs care or supervision 05
Don't like neighbors. 06
Neighborhood too dangerous. 07
Location inconvenient 08
Too noisy. 09
Roaches, rats or other pests 10
Other (SPECIFY)________________________ . . . 11 65 - 66

113. Would you prefer to live where your neighbors are mostly persons of your own race? (CIRCLE ONE)

Yes. 1
No 2
Doesn't matter. 3 67

114. Are you on a waiting list for subsidized or government housing? (CIRCLE ONE)

Yes. 1
No . . . . 2 } (Skip to Q.11
Don't know . . . . 3 } page 34)
68

115. How long have you been on this list? (RECORD NUMBER)

________________________months 69

116. Please estimate the current income of this household. Include your income and the income of all household members. Do not include income of nonrelated boarders or renters living in this house or on this property.

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY -- ASK IF THE FIGURE GIVEN IS:

Weekly 1

Every two weeks . . 2

Monthly 3

Yearly 4

Some other basis -

Explain basis ______

____

____________________.5

IF OTHER THAN YEARLY FIGURE GIVEN RECORD HERE _________. NOW MULTIPLY BY APPROPRIATE FIGURE (e.g., IF MONTHLY MULTIPLY FIGURE BY 12) SO THAT THE RESULT IS AN ESTIMATE OF TOTAL YEARLY INCOME. THEN CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE CATEGORY BELOW.

(CIRCLE ONE) YEARLY INCOME

Less than 1,000 . . 01
$1,000 to 1,999 . . 02
$2,000 to 2,999 . . 03
$3,000 to 3,999 . . 04
$4,000 to 4,999 . . 05
$5,000 to 5,999 . . 06
$6,000 to 6,999 . . 07
$7,000 to 7,999 . . 08
$8,000 to 8,999 . . 09
$9,000 to 9,999 . . 10
10,000 to 11,999. . 11
12,000 to 14,999. . 12
15,000 to 24,999. . 13
25,000 or more . . 14

71 -

Q117. What is your most important source of income? (Circle one)

Wages and salaries (from full or part-time employment) 1
Transfer payments (other than AFDC, Foodstamps) 2
Transfer payments (AFDC, Foodstamps) 3
Other, specify 4
No response . . . . 9 | 73

Q118. What is your second most important source of income? (Circle one)

Wages and salaries (from full or part-time employment 1
Transfer payments (other than AFDC, Foodstamps) 2
Transfer payments (AFDC, Foodstamps) 3
Other, specify: ____________________ 4
No secondary source of income 5
No response . . . . 9 | 74

Q119. Is there anyone in your immediate family who is now serving time in a County jail or prison? (Circle one)

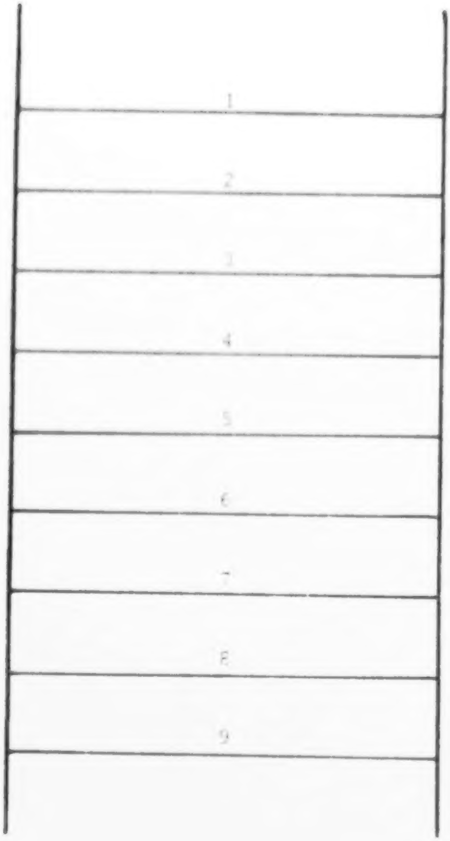
Yes 1
No 2
No response . . . . 9 | 75

Q120. Is there anyone in your immediate family who is now being cared for in a mental hospital? (Circle one)

Yes 1
No 2
No response . . . . 9 | 76

Q121. Is there anyone in your immediate family who is now undergoing care in a community mental health facility? (Circle one)

Yes . . . . 1 | 77
No . . . . 2 | End Card
No response . . . . 9 | 14



APPENDIX B-2

"The Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in the Rural South"

SEA/CR United States Department of Agriculture

AGENCY AVAILABILITY/ACCESSIBILITY, UTILIZATION AND CLIENT SATISFACTION

The Southern Regional Project is conducting a survey to examine the relationship of regional, state and local agencies regarding their availability/accessibility, utilization and client satisfaction. The following questions are directed toward ascertaining the agency directors' perceptions of the agency and of its services to its clients. All information will remain confidential. Thank you for your cooperation.

County ____

Name of Agency ____________________________________

Address ____
Street or P.O. Box *Town/City* *State* *Zip Code*

Telephone ______________________
Area Code Number

Contact Person's Position __________________________

1. Please check each of the service/services provided by this agency.

Employment Security
  WIN ______
  CETA ______
Unemployment Compensation ______
Food Stamps ______
Aid to Dependent Children ______
Family Planning ______
Handicapped Services ______
235 Housing ______
Medicare ______
Medicaid ______
Supplementary Security Income ______
Title VII ______
Comprehensive Health (Medical) ______
Comprehensive Health (Dental) ______
Veterans Services ______
  Housing ______
  Medical ______
  Education ______
Production Credit ______
Commission on Aging ______

2. How many persons are there on your staff, including yourself, in the following categories?

	Fulltime	Part-time
Administrative	______	______
Professional	______	______
Paraprofessional	______	______
Clerical	______	______
Other, (Please specify)	______	______

3. What are the most common measures used in determining if an(a) individual/family qualifies for your agency's services or program? (Check all that apply.)

Income Level ______
Geographic Location ______
Income Level and Number in Family ______
Age ______
Age and Income Level ______
Handicapped, Mental or Physical ______
Other, please specify ______

4. Are clients required to pay for services received?

Yes______ No ______

If no, go to question No. 6

5. If yes, how is fee determined? (Please specify)

____

6. Please list the order of frequency the services most sought by clients in this agency.

Services	Fee Charged
1. ______	______
2. ______	______
3. ______	______
4. ______	______
5. ______	______

7. Please indicate the approximate number of clients per month who are served by your agency. ______

8. Please give the approximate number of clients by age range:

1. ____ 0 - 12 years
2. ___ 13 - 18 years
3. ___ 19 - 25 years
4. ___ 26 - 35 years
5. ___ 36 - 45 years
6. ___ 46 - 55 years
7. ___ 56 - 65 years
8. ___ 66 - 70 years
9. ___ 71 and older

9. Are home visits ever provided by this agency to clients?

Yes _______ No _______

10. Is there an information and referral service provided to clients?

Yes _______ No _______

11. Is there a follow-up telephone service provided to clients?

Yes _______ No _______

12. Are you aware of any formal client satisfaction surveys or evaluations of the agency by the clients?

Yes _______ No _______

If no, go to question No. 14

13. How often are formal client satisfaction surveys conducted?

_______ Annually
_______ Bi-Annually
_______ Quarterly
_______ Monthly
_______ Weekly
_______ Other, please specify ________________________________

14. Please rank in order agency's most pressing needs.
(No. 1 = highest)

Adequate staff _________
Better agency facilities for clients _________
Transportation for clients _________
Inadequate equipment for clients _________
Inadequate capital to handle client load _________
Others, please specify ________________________________
____
____

15. What do you consider your most important source of funds in order to operate your program/services? (No. 1 = highest)

_______ Federal Government
_______ State
_______ Local Government
_______ Federal/State/Local Government
_______ Private
_______ Federal/State
_______ Other (please specify) ________________________________

16. Is the amount of money your agency receives based on the number of clients you serve?

Yes _______ No _______

If no, please explain ____

17. What are the criteria utilized by your superiors for evaluating the performance of your agency? Please explain.

18. What criteria do you use to evaluate the performance of your agency? Please explain.

19. Do you think the services provided by your agency help or hinder the ability of your clients to escape poverty? Please explain.

20. How do you publicize your agency's program? (Please rank in order No. 1 = most frequent).

_______ Radio/TV

_______ Newspaper

_______ Brouchers

_______ Friends/Relatives

_______ Social Service Agency

_______ Referral

_______ Do not publicize

_______ Other

21. Does your agency provide transportation for your clients?

Yes _______ No _______

If no, skip to question No. 26

22. What type of vehicles are used? (Please check)

_______ Bus
_______ Van
_______ Cars
_______ Other

23. Are vehicles properly equipped for the physically handicapped?

Yes _______ No _______

24. Approximately how many miles are covered a day by your transportation system? _______

25. On the average, how many clients are transported by this agency? (Please select the most applicable one)

Daily _________ Weekly _________ Monthly _________

26. Please check the approximate distance traveled by the average client to this agency.

_______ less than a mile

_______ 1 - 3 miles

_______ 4 - 6 miles

_______ 7 - 10 miles

_______ 11 - 15 miles

_______ 16 - 20 miles

_______ more than 20 miles

_______ Don't know

27. Does your agency have branch/satellite offices?

Yes _______ No _______

If yes, how many? _____________

28. Please describe your agency.

What do you perceive the role of your agency to be?

1. ____ Co-planning

Why do you think so?

____

____

____

2. ____ An advocacy service.

Why do you think so?

____

____

____

3. ____ Both co-planning and advocacy.

Why do you think so?

____

____

____

4. ______ Other (Please specify)

____

____

____

29. Do you feel that there is any age, sex, race or ethnic discrimination in the services rendered to your clients?

Yes ______ No ______

If yes, please be specific:

______ age discrimination
______ sex discrimination
______ racial or ethnic discrimination

30. How does this discrimination affect the services of your agency?

APPENDIX C

THE ISOLATION OF FACTORS RELATED TO LEVELS AND PATTERNS OF LIVING IN THE RURAL SOUTH

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1 2 3 4

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

MALE ☐
FEMALE ☐

BLACK ☐
WHITE ☐
OTHER ☐

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

MARRIED ☐ WIDOWED ☐
DIVORCED ☐ NEVER MARRIED ☐
SEPARATED ☐

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6b 1 2

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6b. YES ☐ NO ☐

AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

MARRIED ☐
DIVORCED ☐
SEPARATED ☐
WIDOWED ☐
NEVER MARRIED ☐

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

NCS Data-Reflex E 2817.54321

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

249

11 [illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12a	LEFT HOME
1	0 1
9	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12b [illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

15 MARITAL STATUS

- MARRIED
- DIVORCED
- SEPARATED
- WIDOWED
- NEVER MARRIED

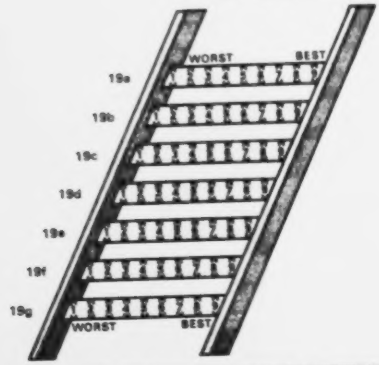
16 HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

16 [illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18a	FATHER LEFT HOME
1	0 1
	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18b [illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9



[illegible]
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

21

1

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE | FEMALE

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

MALE | FEMALE

M S W D/S

3

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE | FEMALE

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

22 (continued)

4

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐
FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

H COUNTY FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

E OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

STATE FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5

B AGE · G EDUCATION · C SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ · D MARITAL STATUS M S W D/S · H COUNTY FIPS CODE · E OCCUPATION · STATE FIPS CODE · F INCOME

6

B AGE · G EDUCATION · C SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ · D MARITAL STATUS M S W D/S · H COUNTY FIPS CODE · E OCCUPATION · STATE FIPS CODE · F INCOME

7

B AGE · G EDUCATION · C SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ · D MARITAL STATUS M S W D/S · H COUNTY FIPS CODE · E OCCUPATION · STATE FIPS CODE · F INCOME

8

B AGE · G EDUCATION · C SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ · D MARITAL STATUS M S W D/S · H COUNTY FIPS CODE · E OCCUPATION · STATE FIPS CODE · F INCOME

9

B AGE · G EDUCATION · C SEX MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐ · D MARITAL STATUS M S W D/S · H COUNTY FIPS CODE · E OCCUPATION · STATE FIPS CODE · F INCOME

SECTION II: COMMUNITY AND LIFE SATISFACTION

23	1 2 3 4 5	28	1 2 3 4 5	33	1 2 3 4 5	38	1 2 3 4 5	43	1 2 3 4 5
24	1 2 3 4 5	29	1 2 3 4 5	34	1 2 3 4 5	39	1 2 3 4 5	44	1 2 3 4 5
25	1 2 3 4 5	30	1 2 3 4 5	35	1 2 3 4 5	40	1 2 3 4 5	45	1 2 3 4 5
26	1 2 3 4 5	31	1 2 3 4 5	36	1 2 3 4 5	41	1 2 3 4 5	46	1 2 3 4 5
27	1 2 3 4 5	32	1 2 3 4 5	37	1 2 3 4 5	42	1 2 3 4 5	47	1 2 3 4 5

48 MOST SATISFYING LIFE

1st ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2nd ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3rd ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

49 MOST UNSATISFYING LIFE

1st ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2nd ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3rd ☐ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

50 MY LIFE SATISFACTION

- Completely satisfying ☐
- Somewhat satisfying ☐
- Unsure ☐
- Not too satisfying ☐
- Very unsatisfying ☐

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

21 (continued)

4

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

8

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

9

B AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐ FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

E EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

G INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

22

1

A AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐
FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

H COUNTY FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

E OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

STATE FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2

A AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐
FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

H COUNTY FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

E OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

STATE FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3

A AGE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B EDUCATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C SEX
MALE ☐
FEMALE ☐

D MARITAL STATUS
M S W D/S

H COUNTY FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

E OCCUPATION
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

STATE FIPS CODE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

F INCOME
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SECTION III: AVAILABILITY, ACCESSIBILITY, CLIENT SATISFACTION AND UTILIZATION

51

1 [0] [1] [2]	4 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	7 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [9-9]	10 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]
2 [0] [1] [2]	5 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	8 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	11 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9-9]
3 [0] [1] [2]	6 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	9 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]	12 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [9-9]

52

1 [0] [1] [2]	4 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	7 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [9-9]	10 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]
2 [0] [1] [2]	5 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	8 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	11 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9-9]
3 [0] [1] [2]	6 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	9 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]	12 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [9-9]

53

1 [0] [1] [2]	4 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	7 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [9-9]	10 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]
2 [0] [1] [2]	5 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	8 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	11 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9-9]
3 [0] [1] [2]	6 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	9 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]	12 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [9-9]

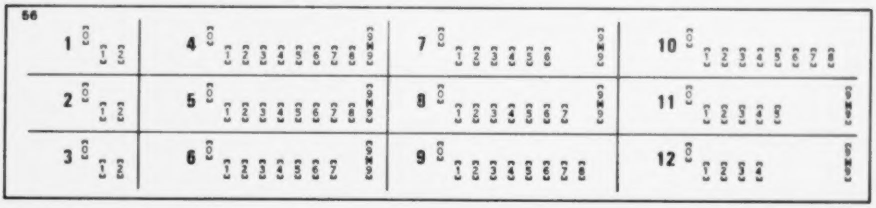
54

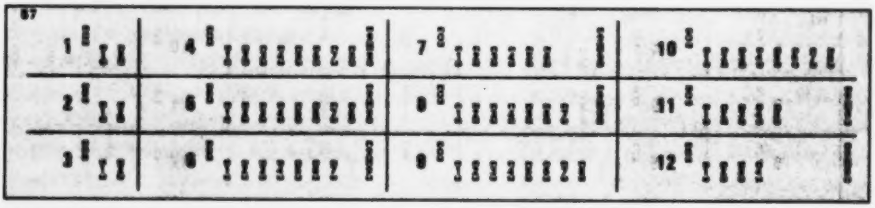
1 [0] [1] [2]	4 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	7 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [9-9]	10 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]
2 [0] [1] [2]	5 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	8 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	11 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9-9]
3 [0] [1] [2]	6 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	9 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]	12 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [9-9]

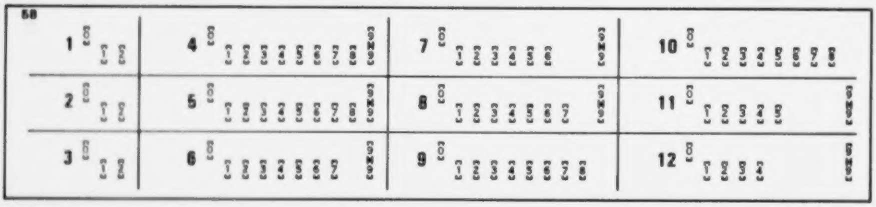
55

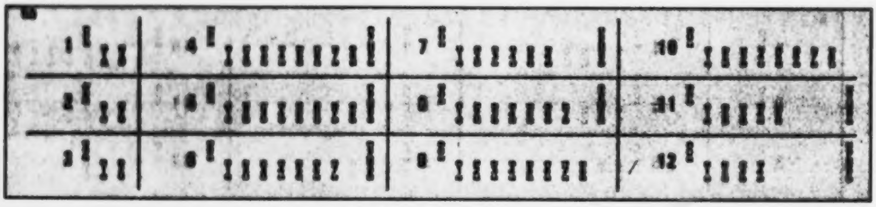
1 [0] [1] [2]	4 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	7 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [9-9]	10 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]
2 [0] [1] [2]	5 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9-9]	8 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	11 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9-9]
3 [0] [1] [2]	6 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [9-9]	9 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8]	12 [0] [1] [2] [3] [4] [9-9]

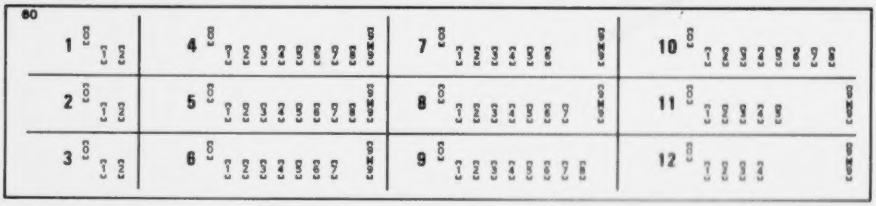
BEST COPY AVAILABLE


56
1 0 1 2
2 0 1 2
3 0 1 2
4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
11 0 1 2 3 4 5
12 0 1 2 3 4


57
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12


58
1 0 1 2
2 0 1 2
3 0 1 2
4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
11 0 1 2 3 4 5
12 0 1 2 3 4


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12


60
1 0 1 2
2 0 1 2
3 0 1 2
4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
11 0 1 2 3 4 5
12 0 1 2 3 4

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

61

1 0 1 2	4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 9M9	10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 0 1 2	5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	11 0 1 2 3 4 5 9M9
3 0 1 2	6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	12 0 1 2 3 4 9M9

62

1 0 1 2	4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 9M9	10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 0 1 2	5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	11 0 1 2 3 4 5 9M9
3 0 1 2	6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	12 0 1 2 3 4 9M9

63

1 0 1 2	4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 9M9	10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 0 1 2	5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	11 0 1 2 3 4 5 9M9
3 0 1 2	6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	12 0 1 2 3 4 9M9

64

1 0 1 2	4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 9M9	10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 0 1 2	5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	11 0 1 2 3 4 5 9M9
3 0 1 2	6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	12 0 1 2 3 4 9M9

65

1 0 1 2	4 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	7 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 9M9	10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 0 1 2	5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9M9	8 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	11 0 1 2 3 4 5 9M9
3 0 1 2	6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9M9	9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	12 0 1 2 3 4 9M9

255 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

66
1 1 2
2 1 2
3 1 2
4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
7 1 2 3 4 5 6 9
8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
11 1 2 3 4 5 9
12 1 2 3 4 9

67
1 1 2
2 1 2
3 1 2
4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
7 1 2 3 4 5 6 9
8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9
9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
11 1 2 3 4 5 9
12 1 2 3 4 9

SECTION IV: VALUES, ATTITUDES, AND BELIEFS

68–75 1 2 3 4 5

76–78 1 2 3 4 5 9

79–82 1 2 3 4 5

83–85 1 2 3 4 5

86 HEAD 1 2 8
SPOUSE 1 2 3 8

87 HEAD 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
SPOUSE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

88 a HEAD 1 2 3 8
SPOUSE 1 2 3 9 8
b HEAD 1 2 3 8
SPOUSE 1 2 3 9 8
c HEAD 1 2 3 8
SPOUSE 1 2 3 9 8
d HEAD 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
SPOUSE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

89 HEAD 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
SPOUSE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

90 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

91 1 2 3 4 5

92 a–h 1 2 3

93 1 2 3

94 NO YES

95 NO YES

SECTION V: CONSUMER BEHAVIOR AND PERSONAL INCOME

96 1 2 3
97 1 2 3

98 1 2 3
99 1 2 3

100 1 2 3 4 5 6
101 1 2 3 4 5

102 1 2 3
103 1 2 3

104 1 2 3
105 1 2 3 4

106 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

107 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

108 1 2 3 4 5 6

109 1 2 3 8

110 1 2 3 4 5 6
111 1 2 3
112 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

113 1 2 3
114 1 2 3
115 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
116 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

117 1 2 3 4 9
118 1 2 3 4 5 9
119 1 2 9
120 1 2 9
121 1 2 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

APPENDIX D

Participating Institutions & Principal Investigators:

1. **Alabama:**

Alabama A&M University Normal, AL 35762	*Dr. Gerald Wheelock
Tuskegee University Tuskegee Institute, AL 36088	*Dr. Avery Webber

2. **Arkansas:**

University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff Pine Bluff, AK 71601	*Dr. Lina Godfrey

3. **Florida:**

Florida A&M University Tallahassee, FL 32307	*Dr. Jogindar Dhillon

4. **Georgia:**

Fort Valley State College Fort Valley, GA 31030	*Dr. Yvonne Beauford Dr. Melvin Walker, Jr.

5. **Kentucky:**

Kentucky State University Frankfort, KY 40601	*Dr. Neville Morgan Dr. Dinker Patel

6. **Mississippi:**

Alcorn State University Lorman, MS 39096	*Dr. Woong Cho Dr. M. S. Dhaliwal

7. **North Carolina:**

North Carolina A&T State University Greensboro, NC 27411	*Dr. Alton Thompson

8. **South Carolina:**

South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, SC 29117
*Mrs. Marguerite Howie

9. **Tennessee:**

Tennessee State University
Nashville, TN 37203
*Dr. Levi Jones

10. **Virginia:**

Virginia State University
Petersburg, VA 23803
*Dr. Sheng-yung Li

*Principal Investigators

Jogindar S. Dhillon is Professor of Sociology and Director, Center for Community Development and Research at Florida A&M University. He has extensive experience in rural development both in India as well as in the United States. His research interests are in rural poverty, community development, and social development. He is the author of over 40 research reports, bulletins, and technical papers.

Dhillon received his Masters degrees from the University of Rajasthan, and Punjab Agricultural University, and his Ph.D. degree from Cornell University.

Marguerite Rogers Howie is Professor of Sociology and holds an Endowed Chair as a Distinguished Professor in the School of Arts and Sciences at South Carolina State College. She has received grants from CSRS/USDA, the Russell Sage and Kellogg Foundations.

Howie received her Masters degree in Sociology from Atlanta University and has published several articles, monographs, and journals. She is the recent recipient of the W. E. B. Dubois award from the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists.

Jacket design by
Denise Gordon